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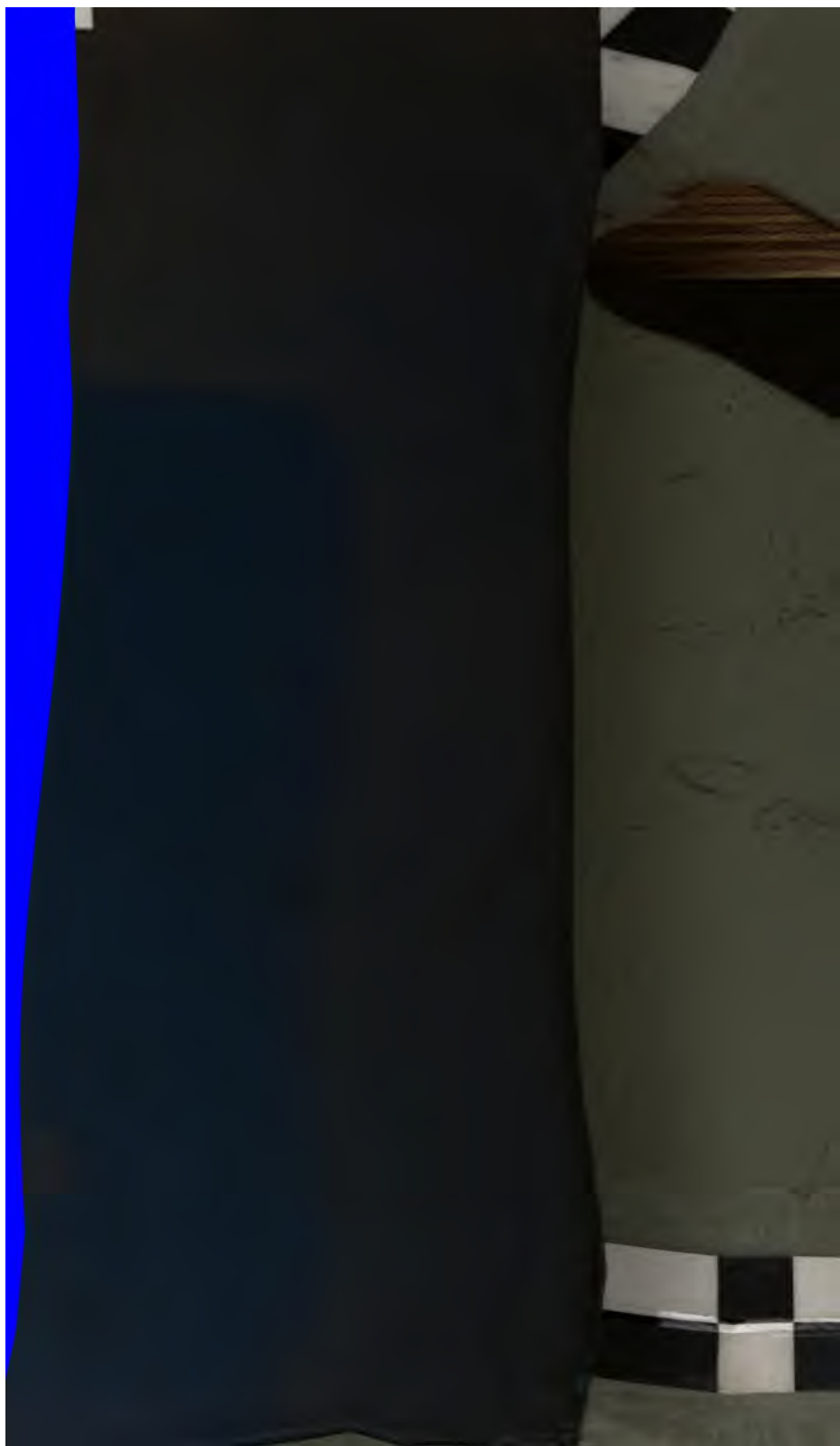
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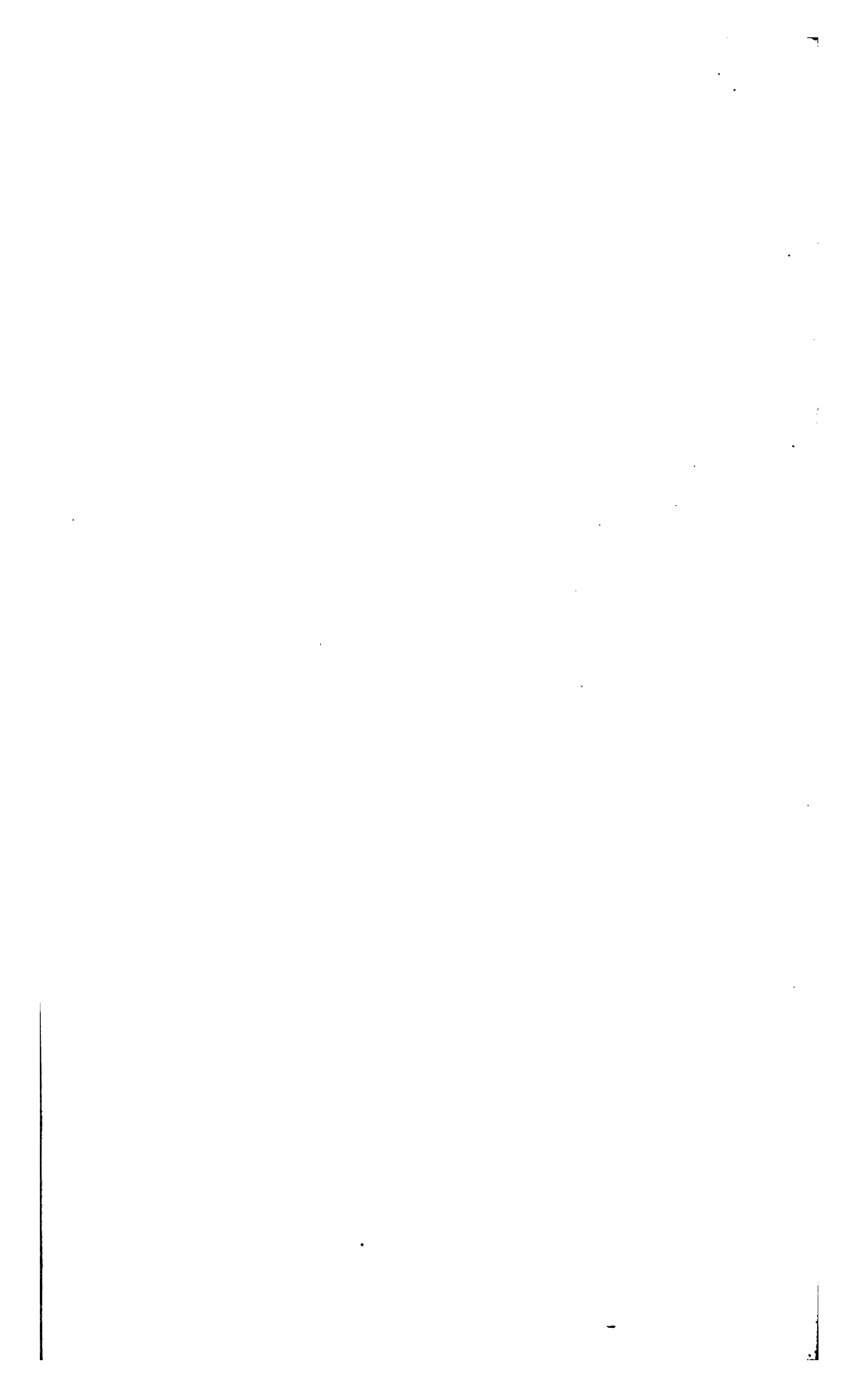


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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
FRANCE,

CIVIL AND MILITARY,  
ECCLESIASTICAL,  
POLITICAL,

LITERARY,  
COMMERCIAL,  
&c. &c.

FROM THE TIME OF  
*ITS CONQUEST BY CLOVIS, A.D. 486.*

BY  
The Rev. ALEXANDER RANKEN, D.D.  
ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF GLASGOW.

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VOLUME THE SIXTH;  
From the Death of FRANCIS I., A.D. 1547, to the  
Death of HENRY III., A.D. 1589.

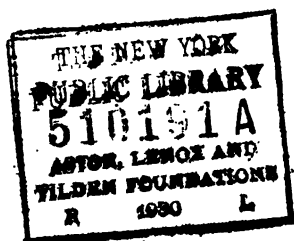
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THE





THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
FRANCE.

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BOOK VI.

From the Death of Francis I., A. D. 1547,  
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CHAP. I.

The Civil and Military History of France, from  
the Death of Francis I., A. D. 1547, to the  
Death of Henry III., 1589.

REIGN OF HENRY II.

**H**ENRY was twenty-nine years of age, when <sup>A.D. 1547.</sup> he ascended the throne on the 31st of March. He was handsome, active, and polite: rather above the middle stature: his face had a brownish tinge, but was serene, open, and agreeable. He is said to have been magnanimous and valiant, but he was neither so lively, nor so  
VOL. VI. B eloquent

**A. D. 1547.** eloquent, as his father. He was naturally of a good temper; but wanted that firmness which renders the mind independent and stable, which gives unity to the counsels and plans, and energy to the administration of government. He saw and judged every thing through the medium of favourites. He was ambitious and moderate, warlike and peaceful, religious and cruel, according to the opinions and influence of those to whom he was attached, and in whose opinions he confided for the time. There were only four or five who might be said to engross his affections, and to lead his judgment, during his reign.

Henry's  
favourites.  
Diana of  
Poitiers.

The first was his mistress, the celebrated Diana of Poitiers, duchess of Valentinois, daughter of John Lord St. Valier. She had married Lewis de Brezé, great seneschal of Normandy; and after the death of her husband, and when she was forty years of age, she made such a conquest of Henry, that he not only gave up almost every thing in the kingdom to her direction, but was ostentatious of her influence over him, on public occasions and in public affairs. Her ruling passions were ambition, and avarice: to gratify these, and especially the latter, was the pursuit of her life: and for these she was ready to sacrifice every other principle and interest.<sup>1</sup>

Montmo-  
rency.

Subject too much to her influence also, was the constable Annas de Montmorency, of a family so ancient and noble, that the king familiarly called him his compeer. More vain of this distinction, than of all the military fame

<sup>1</sup> Thuani Hist. lib. 3. vol. i. p. 58. edit. Frankofurti, 1625.

which he had acquired in the former reign, and <sup>A.D. 1547</sup> stooping so much to the authority, and management of this lady, as to abandon to her caprice and indiscretion, some of the most important interests of the state, he sinks in our estimation: we can scarcely believe that he is the same man who defeated the design of the emperor's invasion of Provence, A. D. 1536, by so wisely and obstinately declining a general engagement: that a man so proud as the constable Montmorency, could submit to become this woman's tool: or, that a patriot, such as he still continued to show himself, should occasionally sacrifice his conscience and country, to feminine intrigue, or even to royal gratification.\*

The house of Guise was different from the constable both in temper and politics. They were more affable and generous: more ambitious of power, than of wealth: they requested titles rather than territory; and active commands in preference to courtly smiles. Francis d'Aumale, <sup>Duke of Guise.</sup> duke of Guise, was a profound statesman, and perhaps the ablest military officer of the kingdom. He was generally respected by the nobility; as his younger brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, was by the clergy. The latter, however, was more a courtier, had more quick discernment, and more circumspection; but withal, he was severe, cruel, and cowardly, qualities by no means uncommon in the same character.

James d'Albon Marechal St. André, was a man of superior and cultivated talents; but profuse, and dissipated. He had raised himself to

\* Thuani Hist. lib. 3. vol. i. p. 59.

A. D. 1547.

be not only marechal of France, governor of Lionnois, Bourbonnois, Fores, and Beaujolois, but to be high chamberlain, which gave him constant and free access at all times to the king. His advancement and prosperity were owing, as much to his address, as to military skill and valour. His want of œconomy loaded him with debt, and rendered him necessitous and dependent. His mind, more ingenious and active, than good and upright, was constantly occupied with schemes of ambition and enterprise, which sometimes agitated the court, and even alarmed the kingdom.

The Queen.

Catharine de Medicis, destined to act an important part hereafter, was yet restrained by the rival power of the duchess of Valentinois, with whom she was contented, for it was vain to be otherwise, to share the influence of the court, and royal favour. She was ambitious, but supple and accommodating : she caressed the duchess, whom she hated : she flattered the constable, and seemed to repose on his counsel, though she totally distrusted him, for she knew his attachment to her rival. In these circumstances, she might have been more pitied as a stranger, if she had not yielded honour, integrity, in a word, her dignity as queen, to ambition and convenience. She abandoned her right and privileges, and connived at the openly unfaithful conduct of her husband, in order that she might gratify more easily her ruling passion of ambition. Her real character, her want of principle, her flexible temper, and talents, and the fatal effects of her administration will be abundantly developed in the subsequent reigns of her three sons.

Such

Such were the characters of those whom the king preferred as his favourites and counsellors: through whom the royal patronage was solicited and obtained, and by whom the affairs of state were governed. Their eagerness to secure their present stations, was equal to the patience with which they had waited for them. Their rapacity was beheld with indignation, and especially by the former ministers and their friends, whose places they had seized and occupied: their various private intrigues, however interesting, belong rather to the department of memoirs than of general history. A. D. 1547.

Francis Olivier only remained of the former administration, unrivalled in the office of chancellor, as he was unequalled in mental talents, in genius and learning, in prudence and integrity. Indefatigable and faithful he persevered in the discharge of his important duties; and with a dignity which exalted him far above ordinary men. If he was bigotted in favour of the Catholic religion, and severe in the laws which he framed against the Protestants, the spirit of the times, and the belief which he entertained that these laws were necessary, and salutary to the order and stability of government, might furnish him with a plausible apology. A similar excuse might be urged for the sumptuary edicts published at the same time. The knowledge and liberality of the most enlarged minds, in those times, were equally deficient in ecclesiastical policy and political œconomy. More wise and useful were the laws enacted against mendicants, who, from a mistaken charity, had been encouraged to swarm every where, and especially in Paris; Fr. Olivier.

A. D. 1547. Paris ; and the laws for regulating the number and duties of the officers and clerks of parliament. To the new regulations, however, for increasing the exactions of the collectors of the *gabelle*, might be attributed the commotions for some time so alarming beyond the Loire.

Insurrection  
on account of  
the *gabelle*.

The people of Angouleme, who had enjoyed peculiar privileges in the mode of paying this tax on salt, finding them invaded by a new edict, or infringed, as they supposed, by the tax-gatherers, rose in a body, and by the sound of the tocsin proclaimed their resolution of resistance. The tax was always and every where unpopular ; the public mind was irritable on the subject, the sympathy was general, and the insurrection rapidly spread over all that country. Three hundred men at arms, who marched against them, found themselves opposed by about twice as many thousand peasants, armed with swords, clubs, forks, and other instruments of husbandry, and by retreating augmented their courage and audacity. They so intimidated the nobles, and other men of rank, that they durst not stir for fear of being massacred or plundered. They attacked Angouleme, the capital of the province, and obliged the magistrates to surrender some of their number, whom they had taken prisoners. The contagion spread over the neighbouring counties, Poitou, Limousin, Perigord, and Gascony, and apprehensions were entertained that it would become universal : it was necessary therefore for every man to declare himself, and to allow of no neutrality nor timidity ; to arm those who were well affected, both

\* See an account of it, book iv. ch. 3. of this work.

in the towns and in the country, and to take such decisive measures as might in time effectually check the rebellion. The chief anxiety of government was transferred from the interior to Bourdeaux, a maritime city, through which fears were entertained that the insurgents might derive foreign succours. Along with an army of more than ten thousand men opposed to them, a proclamation was issued, offering them a general pardon on immediate submission. These together had the effect desired: they were rather an angry and licentious mob, without a head, than an arranged and compacted conspiracy. Influenced variously by fear and hope, on hearing of the army and the proclamation, they dispersed in all directions. The magistrates of Bourdeaux, accompanied with the principal citizens, went out at some distance to present the keys of the city to the constable, at the head of his army, and to entreat that the innocent might not be confounded with the guilty, that the city might be saved from all disgrace and violence, and that the soldiers might not be allowed to enter it. Their submission was accepted, but their entreaties with respect to the other points were disregarded. The troops, preceded by eighteen pieces of artillery, entered the city as by conquest, seized every station and post which might command the town, and assumed those attitudes which inspired consternation. The inhabitants seemed devoted to pillage and death: but after their own conscience and imagination had sufficiently tortured them, after they had delivered up all their arms and stores, and after a minute and solemn examination had been held of the whole circumstances, and agents of the insurrection,

A.D. 1547.



A.D. 1548.

26th Oct.

1548.

tion, a sentence was pronounced: That the city should be stripped of all its privileges as a community; that it should be henceforth awed by a garrison, constantly maintained at its expence; that it should provide and maintain two ships of war, and defray the whole expence of the present armament. A few only of the people, reckoned most culpable, were condemned to die, and were executed. Some of the chiefs of the tumult in the other towns and districts, were in like manner put to death, and thus the insurrection finally terminated. \*

England and  
Scotland.

These internal commotions had long enough prevented the government from regarding its external relations, in Britain and Germany. In Britain a union was projected, betwixt the two crowns of England and Scotland, by the marriage of Edward VI. with the beautiful Mary the young Scottish queen. The duke of Somerset, the former's uncle, and regent of the kingdom under the name of the protector, showed the depth of his political wisdom by his extreme solicitude to accomplish this union. It seemed to be the intention of nature, in surrounding the two kingdoms with the ocean, and of Providence, in raising up a prince and princess at one time so nearly of the same age, to incorporate under one government two nations similar in their origin, language, and in many of their privileges and customs. They had lived hitherto for centuries in almost a constant state of rivalry, jealousy, and war. Their hostilities and apprehensions were highly unfavourable to their improvement: so happy a termination to their discords was

\* Thuani Hist. lib. v. p. 102—105.

therefore

therefore generally desirable by wife and good men of both kingdoms. It was particularly and zealously encouraged by the partisans of the Reformation, who foresaw that many advantages would result from this union to the Protestant church, under the patronage of Somerset, who was solicitous prudently, but decidedly, to complete that revolution in doctrine, worship, and discipline, which the late king had effected only in government. For that reason, however, it was discountenanced, and opposed by the earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, who beheld in it the decline of his own rank and power: by the Catholics, who conspired with all their might against it, as ruinous to their church; particularly by cardinal Beaton, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose excessive zeal cost him his life: and by France, which having suffered so much from England alone, had reason to dread so great an accession of power as would arise from its union with Scotland.

A.D. 1548.

Towards the end of May, A.D. 1548, therefore, a French army of more than 6000 men, under the command of Montalembert, was dispatched to Leith, accompanied with a request, that the young queen, to prevent any risk of her being carried to England, might be put on board the fleet which brought these troops, and sent to France. There she might be educated, and in due time married to the dauphin. The Scotch parliament was partial to this measure: they entertained not the same jealousies against France as against England: they were not so apprehensive of becoming a French as an English province. Were such a thing to be attempted  
by

Mary sent  
to France.

A. D. 1548. by the former, the distance of the seat of government would render it more easily resistible: they were determined, however, more by interest, prejudice, and passion, than by reason and sound policy. The regent was flattered by the dukedom of Châtelherault, and others by proportional gratuities. The education of Mary, then six years of age, was entrusted to a court, then the most polished and the most licentious of Europe: it was calculated to qualify her for occupying with splendour the throne of France; for which indeed she was destined by her friends, though not by Providence; but was the most unfortunate school in which she could have been placed, to discipline and prepare her for contending or patiently bearing with the rigid and unaccommodating spirits of Scottish ecclesiastics and nobles. She was bred a Catholic: they were generally determined Calvinists. She was gentle, and accustomed to absolute power: they were rough, uncultivated, and jealous of their freedom. This step, therefore, of sending her to the French court, may be considered as the fatal means of embroiling her with her own subjects, as well as with England, of imbittering her life, and of subjecting her finally to a premature and violent death.

For several reigns Scotland had been connected with France by close alliance and frequent intercourse. Their jealousy of England naturally united them in their common defence. The Scotch were ambitious of fame in the French armies and service, and French troops were often employed as auxiliaries in Scotland. But they were disliked generally by the people, and especially

cially after the commencement of the Reformation, when the Protestants became jealous of Catholic contagion and influence. The queen mother, Mary of Guise, alienated from her the affections of her subjects by the introduction of these foreigners; which, with her want of fidelity to her engagements, weakened her authority and disordered her government. She died; but the united forces of the insurgents, whom her imprudence had roused to arms, and of the queen of England, who saw her interest in assisting them, forced the French to re-imbark and quit the island. A. D. 1548

On the death of Francis II. the young queen herself returned to her native dominions, over which she reigned, till her flight to England, with little comfort to herself, and with as little advantage to her people. She was lively, gay, and accustomed to a polished, a dissipated, and at the same time a bigotted court. They were rude, heated with civil and religious contentions, and incapable of accommodating in any thing, however trivial or innocent in itself, which offended their prejudices. She was imprudent, and they became indignant. They rose in rebellion against her, defeated her army, and expelled her from the kingdom. Her son, then an infant, was incapable of affording her any protection: and even when he became of age, and might perhaps have been able to have rescued her from Elizabeth, and revenged her on all her enemies, showed no filial affection, no manly spirit, no disposition to resent his mother's wrongs, but selfishly and tamely preferred accommodation to her oppressor, the queen of England, whose favour he knew would smooth,

A. D. 1548. smooth, whose anger might totally obstruct, his way to the throne of England. During his minority, a succession of regents only increased the disorders, and exhausted the strength of the kingdom. Murray co-operated with Elizabeth against the captive Mary: but was assassinated by one whom his clemency had saved. The young king's grandfather aimed patriotically to liberate his country from its dependence on England; but met with a similar end. Mar. generously exerted himself to rouse the fallen spirits of his countrymen, and struggled to unite their hostile factions against the common enemy: he died himself, dejected, and without success. Morton joined his forces with those of Elizabeth, and reduced Edinburgh Castle, the last place of strength held in Mary's name; after which the kingdom continued to be governed submissively, by the influence of Elizabeth, till James succeeded her in the throne of England.

Meantime the French troops having joined the Scottish army, amounting together to about 15,000 men, recovered Haddington, dispossessed the English of several other places of strength, and somewhat restored the spirits and confidence of their allies. They were more indebted however for this to the factions in England, which were provoked by Somerset's ambition and violence, and which combined to undermine and overthrow his power, than to their own exertions. The internal heats which these occasioned, diminished the energy of the government in its external relations: peace was desirable: and the earl of Warwick, who succeeded the duke of Somerset, as regent or protector of England, found  
it

it necessary to submit to the terms which Henry dictated: That England should surrender to France, Boulogne and its dependencies: should abandon all pretensions to a treaty of marriage betwixt Edward and Mary: and should attempt nothing farther of a hostile nature against Scotland. Thus the animosities of the two British kingdoms exhausted the power of both: Scotland sacrificed almost her sovereignty: and England an important continental territory: while France, taking advantage of their enfeebled state, extended her dominion, augmented her security, and raised to an almost unprecedented height her name and authority amongst the nations of Europe.

A.D. 1550.

Peace.  
March 24,  
1550.

Ambition, the natural effect of prosperity on a state as on a person, moved Henry next to attempt some effectual plan of also humbling the Emperor Charles, his hereditary rival. Nor did he need to wait long for an opportunity. Influenced by an emotion of gratitude, Julius III. had confirmed Octavio Farnese, through the influence of whose family he had been raised to the Papal throne, in the possession of Parma, formerly detached from the ecclesiastical territories; and still claimed also as an imperial fief by the emperor. He afterwards repented, when he saw that Charles would attempt to recover from a lay prince, that which he might not have chosen to wrest from the church, and made some proposals of resuming it. Charles, on the other hand, had acquiesced in the plan of Gonzaga, his governor of Milan, to annex it to that duchy, from which he pretended it was dismembered. In these cir-

Expedition  
to Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Buchan. Hist. lib. 15. Thuani Hist. lib. 5, 6.

**A. D. 1550.** **cumstances** Octavio resorted to Henry, represented to him the glory which his predecessors had acquired by their arms in Italy, and the advantages which might now result to France, by a prompt and powerful opposition to the emperor in that quarter. Henry's eye overlooking the dark, and naturally catching and resting on the luminous and splendid side of this representation, readily engaged to patronise and protect him. A few troops were sent into Italy, and a plundering kind of warfare was, for some time, maintained on the ecclesiastical and Parmese territories; but was followed with no important consequences, and soon gave way to operations more extensive and serious.

**Maurice of Saxony.**

Maurice duke of Saxony, cousin of the elector, and son-in-law of the landgrave of Hesse, had early distinguished himself by his talents and artifices, his ambition and duplicity. He deserted the league of Smalcalde, and throwing all his weight against it, into the scale of the emperor, contributed not a little to the ruin of that league, and of its design in favour of the Reformation. On pretence of being next lineal heir of the electorate, and of preventing any stranger from invading it, he seized it, as by the emperor's order, after the defeat of the elector, and other members of the league, at the battle of Muhlberg, and was actually confirmed in the possession of it at the diet of Augsburg, May 15, 1548. In return he implicitly obeyed the orders of the emperor, to enforce in his territories the edict called *the Interim*, published by that diet.

<sup>6</sup> Thuani Hist. lib. 6. Belcarii, lib. 25.

It required the faith of all the doctrines, and the observance of all the rites of the church of Rome, excepting in two articles, by which clergymen, who had married were still allowed to act as priests: and in those places, where the laity had been accustomed to receive the cup, as well as the bread, the practice was allowed to be continued. These exceptions, however, rendered it obnoxious to the Catholics, and in these only it could be regarded with a favourable eye by the Protestants. This man, having thus raised himself on the shoulders of the emperor, began with equal artifices to spurn at him. Still affecting zealously and implicitly to serve him, he secretly associated with the Protestants, whose number, zeal, and power, he saw, were they compacted, and himself at the head of them, he thought he might employ to gratify his ambition. It was necessary with this view, both to amuse the emperor, and gradually to gain their favour which he had done so much to forfeit, to prepare an army, and to remove the prejudices of the Protestants against such foreign assistance as he saw it might be necessary to procure from France.

A. D. 1550.

German  
confeder-  
acy against  
the empe-  
ror.

Having succeeded in these other measures, he addressed himself to Henry. He represented the necessity of checking the ambition, and of opposing and limiting the vast power of the emperor. He observed, that not only the Protestant states of Germany, but that the kingdom of France, was in danger by his arms, and that his aim appeared to be a universal monarchy. Henry sufficiently jealous already of Charles, inheriting his father's spirit of rivalry against him, and ambitious of distinguishing himself on



A.D. 1551. a theatre more extensive and conspicuous than that which Italy afforded, readily listened to the proposals of Maurice, and empowered John de Fresse, or Fresne, bishop of Bayonne, to conclude a treaty with him, and the other princes of the empire.

As they could not have agreed on the subjects of religion, they did not enter on them, expressing their hope, that Providence would take charge of their arrangement and settlement afterwards, while they united against the common enemy: to obtain the liberty of the landgrave: and to preserve and maintain the laws, and constitution of the German empire. They agreed to act together, as impelled by one spirit, to declare war, and to march at one time, and never to separate, nor desist, nor treat, but by common consent, and with a due regard always to the interest of all the confederates. They appointed Maurice to the command of the united forces, amounting to 7,000 horse, besides their domestic or ordinary militia of about 40,000 foot. They were to be joined, if necessary, by a French army; besides the troops with which the king was to make a diversion in Lorraine, or the Low Countries. And to enable the confederates to raise and maintain this army, Henry agreed to pay them 240,000 crowns, and 60,000 crowns a month more, as long as they should continue to carry on the war.<sup>7</sup>

5th Oct.  
551.

Several of the confederates published, each a declaration, or manifesto, containing his reasons

<sup>7</sup> Thuani, lib. 8. p. 160, 161. Du Mont, Recueil des Traités.

for

for making war against the emperor. Those of the elector Maurice, and of Albert of Brandenburg, were nearly the same: to secure and maintain the religion, and liberty of Germany: to procure the liberation of the landgrave: and to deliver the empire from the plunder and oppression of foreign troops, quartered in it, contrary to law: and from the tyranny of foreigners, appointed officers of state, though acquainted with neither the language nor customs of the country. A. D. 1551.

Henry's declaration bore, That his object was the general good: that while he was protecting Scotland, and treating with England for the best interests of these kingdoms, the emperor was insidiously contriving his ruin: that his connivance at such conduct hitherto, for the sake of peace, had been construed into cowardice, and was therefore no longer to be endured: that the state of Germany demanded his interference and aid, in due time; since, if it were exhausted and subdued, France, and all Christendom, might fall, in like manner, under the yoke of the house of Austria. That he had already stretched out his arm for the protection of Italy; and was determined for the same reason to succour and co-operate with the States of Germany: to assert and maintain their liberties: to liberate their imprisoned princes: and to secure the peace of Europe.

Even these declarations, however, could not immediately restore general confidence, in a conduct so mysterious, and selfish, as that of Maurice, nor in a government so prone to persecute

\* Sleidan, Book 24. p. 559—554.

A.D. 1551. the Protestants, as that of France. Men were agitated variously, therefore, by hope and fear, till the period arrived, when actions and events disclosed the real principles, and end of the confederacy.

State of  
Germany.

The frequent references made to Germany, renders it necessary to give an account of the political state, and of some of the customs of that country. It comprehended generally the states from the Rhine to the Oder, and from the Alps to the Baltic. The several states of that extensive, and generally fertile and populous country, were governed, each by its own peculiar constitution, and laws: most of them either retaining, with some variety, the old feudal institutions, and customs, or become military and absolute sovereignties. But they were united, under one emperor, by a confederacy, derived from the Carlovingian princes; or, as some have boasted, conveyed to Charlemagne by the pope, from the time of the Roman emperors. It is easy for the human fancy unfettered by facts, or when favoured by obscurity, to associate things by slight connections, or analogies. But the historian will trace the great æra of the constitution of Germany, at the period of which we now write, to the golden bull published in 1356. By that constitution, seven sovereigns of Germany, whether dukes, bishops, or kings, were acknowledged to have the sole right of choosing the emperor, or head of the confederacy, and were on that account denominated electors. They were the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the king of Bohemia, or Austria, and the princes of Saxony, Brandenburg,

burg, and the Palatine. The Reformation had spread over the Palatinate, Brandenburg, and a great part of Saxony. It had penetrated into Mecklenburg, and was received with avidity by the landgrave, and people of Hesse. All the other states may be considered as subject to the Catholic faith. From this view, we see how the Germans would arrange themselves, with respect to France, and send armies on both sides, to the aid both of the Huguenots and Catholics: and hence we may learn one cause, at least, of the difficulty of uniting the Germanic body in any plan or enterprise especially, in which their religious system, and interests interfered. This often embarrassed the conduct of their emperors, and obstructed their most formidable designs, sometimes against the Pope, the Turk, or the King of France. Even without the obstacles arising from religion, it was always difficult to move, to unite, and to render effective, a body so heterogeneous, and sluggish. Besides the Emperor, they were accustomed, frequently, to nominate a king of the Romans, who was to be the emperor next in succession.

A. D. 1558.

The emperor was held paramount, over all the states of the Germanic body. His jurisdiction and authority was supreme: regulated, however, by the customs and statutes of the empire. He was the fountain of honour. He conferred not only titles, but decided on forfeitures and vacant fiefs. His power in these respects has been seldom questioned. Most of the dukedoms of Germany have been created by imperial authority. Many other privileges belonged to him, of jurisdiction, coinage, taxation, &c. derived

A. D. 1551.

rived from ancient feudal consuetude. But they gradually became nominal and ceremonial. One important end of his power was to maintain the rights and privileges of one state or circle against another, of the weak against the strong. And this was most effectually done, by the very awe which the idea of his authority inspired. Beyond this it was seldom effective; even when he ruled the diet, and persuaded them to raise an army: troops so various, so jealous of one another, so little disposed to coalesce, so insensible to one supreme authority, could neither be subjected to necessary discipline, nor made to act with energy against the common enemy.

The German troops were composed chiefly of landsquenets, and reiters. The landsquenets were armed with long spears, or lances, and divided into regiments, ensigns, and squads, which were trained by a rigorous discipline, and maintained even during peace. Pikes eighteen feet long were afterwards substituted for lances. But whether armed with the one, or other, they formed an excellent body of infantry, steady in their ranks, and alert in their evolutions.

The reiters were cavalry, armed somewhat similar, expert in the management of their horses, as well as of their arms. In actual war, they sometimes crossed their pikes, whether on foot, or horseback, and thus presented an impenetrable and awful front to the enemy.<sup>9</sup> Accustomed, however, to subsist by plunder, in the enemies' country, and regardless of authority, where they found themselves masters, and far from home, they

<sup>9</sup> Pfeffel Abregét. 2.

were liable to mutiny, to insolence, to extreme licentiousness: and were sometimes more troublesome and dangerous than those whom they were employed to oppose, or subdue. A. D. 1551.

The Swifs coalesced more readily as a body through the natural affection to which they were early habituated, as well as by the military discipline to which they were trained. They stood firm in their ranks, sacrificing plunder to duty, until the victory was complete. Like the Germans, they were originally armed with long pikes; but towards the end of the sixteenth century, or earlier, they added the arquebuses, or portable match-gun, the halbert, and sword. Their defensive armour was, for those who could bear the expense, a shirt, or coat of mail, a corselet, or a cuirass. Others who could not procure this, substituted ox, or bear-skins. They wore white plumes on their head, mixed with the colour peculiar to the ensign of their canton; and they had generally a white cross attached to their breast. Their martial instruments of music were the trumpet for the cavalry, and the fife and drum for the infantry.<sup>10</sup> Swiss Customs.

As the Swifs, like the Germans, were, some cantons protestants and some catholics, and as the cantons were independent in their internal government, and united only by a political confederacy, so we find them like the Germans auxiliaries on opposite sides.

Every preparatory step having been taken with great caution, Maurice placed himself at the Commencement of operations.

<sup>10</sup> Simler, Planta's Hist.

A.D. 1551. head of his army, consisting of about 20,000 foot, and 5,000 horse. In a few days after, he was joined by William prince of Hesse, son of the landgrave, and Albert marquis of Brandenburg: and again by reinforcements from the prince of Bade, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the elector Palatine. As they advanced towards Upper Germany, Augsbourg, Ulm, and other cities of Bavaria, and Swabia, opened their gates to them: while Toul, Verdun, and Mentz fell into the hands of the French army, under the command of the constable Montmorency.

Fortune, which had hitherto favoured the emperor, seemed now all at once to have deserted him. One part of his army, he had detached to defend Hungary against the invasion of it by the Turks: another he had sent to reinforce the troops employed in Italy, against Parma. His usual annual importation of treasure, from South America, had failed him this year. Shut in among the mountains of the Tirol, at Inspruck, without men or money, he had reason to be apprehensive and disquieted. He took such measures as he thought necessary for his security in the mean time: and dispatched his brother Ferdinand, with powers to avert, if possible, the impending storm, by negotiation; or at least to amuse the confederates, and to gain time.

Ferdinand was happy in being so employed. He had reason for some time past to suspect, that the emperor intended to deprive him of the dignity of king of the Romans, in order to confer it on his son Don Philip: and now he foresaw an opportunity of securing that title to himself by this

this negotiation. He lost no time: repaired to the confederates, who engaged to meet him at Linz in Austria. He conciliated their favour by every reasonable accommodation; and when he found, that there were some articles on which they insisted, for which he had not sufficient authority, he offered to wait on his brother the emperor, and to persuade him to agree to them. He proposed, therefore, a suspension of hostilities, and an adjournment of the negotiation till the 26th of May. The adjournment was agreed to.

A.D. 1551.

26th May,  
1552.

But Maurice, so far from consenting to any suspension of arms, meditated a stroke, which might not merely quicken the treaty, but enable him to dictate its articles, almost without controul. He hoped to get possession of the emperor's person. On leaving Ferdinand, and joining his army, he pushed forward through the Tirol, towards Inspruck, where Charles lay confined with the gout. He carried Fieffen and Ruten, forts, which commanded the entrance of the narrow pass by surprise and storm. Ehremsberg situated on a steep rock, commanding the narrow valley, and well furnished with troops and provisions, seemed impregnable and impassable. A goat-herd offered for a few florins to shew him a path, which would lead the troops unseen to the castle. A chosen band was appointed to follow this leader. They succeeded. The garrison beheld them in the morning on the rock which commanded the fort. Panic struck, they scarcely attempted to defend their ruinous walls, which they had not thought it necessary ever to repair, in so sequestered a situation, and capitulated. A party who fled carried that

Emperor's  
danger.



A. D. 1552.

evening to Inspruck, defenceless and unprepared, the alarming news that the enemy was at the gates. The emperor was just retiring to bed, under a fit of the gout. A litter, however, was procured, and by the help of torches, he in it, and his court on horseback, in a dark, wet, and stormy night, fled over the mountains to Villach in Carinthia. <sup>11</sup>

Maurice arrived a few hours after, greatly disappointed, by the escape of such a prey. He gave full liberty to the soldiers to plunder every thing excepting what belonged to the king of the Romans, whom he wished to distinguish by peculiar attention, and with whom, in three days, he expected to meet according to appointment for conference at Passau. Having so short a time remaining, he led back his army into Swabia, and leaving it under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg joined Ferdinand at Passau accordingly. The latter was attended by his son Maximilian, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, and the deputies of several electors and princes, who came rather as peace-makers, than parties.

Conference.

Maurice opened the conference, by representing freely the emperor's infractions of the laws, and constitution of the empire: the injuries which he had repeatedly committed on the rights of the electors: the disorderly conduct of his Spanish soldiers, who generally formed his garrisons in Germany: the new form of oath which he exacted from the cities of the empire, in favour

<sup>11</sup> Id. Ibid. p. 555—560. Thuani hist. Garnier hist. t. 26.

of Austria. All these grievances he required to be redressed: he claimed the free exercise of religion according to the confession of Augsbourg, with the imperial rights belonging to the princes and cities, who might profess that religion, and particularly of sitting as judges in the imperial chamber: he demanded the liberation of the elector, and landgrave: and satisfaction to the just claims of his ally the king of France.

A. D. 1552.

The emperor, though in circumstances, which required peace, rejected these demands at first, and was hardly prevailed with, by the intercessions of Ferdinand, to agree to the following articles: That the elector and landgrave should be set at liberty: that a diet should be held within six months; for settling religious differences: that in the meantime, and until some settlement take place, every one should remain undisturbed in the exercise of his religion: that the imperial chamber shall be composed equally of protestants and catholics, and shall administer justice impartially to both: that the grievances relative to the constitution and law of the empire shall be submitted to the first diet which shall meet.

Treaty of  
Passau, and  
Aug. 1552.

But Henry the king of France had not been invited to this conference: and Maurice introduced him into the conclusion of his representation and claims, as if he had been his vassal, rather than his patron. At this John de Fresne, bishop of Bayonne, who was present, took fire and remonstrated. After taking a general view of the relations of France and Germany, and of the disorders of the empire, which had required the

A. D. 1552. the interference of his sovereign, he stated, that he had been both liberal of his treasure and active with his troops: that he had many causes himself of complaint: but would be satisfied if the end were secured for which he had taken arms: Nor, though offended with this recent neglect, by those from whom more respect and attention might have been expected, would he allow it to become any embarrassment, or obstacle to the present treaty.<sup>12</sup>

This speech of the bishop of Bayonne, and the subsequent conduct of Henry, increased the irritation on the mind of the emperor against France; but that irritation was inflamed above what he could bear, when he reflected on the loss of Metz, Toul, and Verdun: and that they were torn from the empire by the son of that Francis so much inferior to his father, whom he was accustomed generally to defeat. Under the pretence of making war on a grand scale against the Turk, he assembled one of the greatest armies which he had ever levied; but as it was already August, he hesitated whether he should now take the field, or delay it till the spring. Such a delay would be attended with more expence than his finances were able to bear: it might be extremely difficult to maintain the discipline of so great an army, for so long a time: and yet as the French might have grounds of distrust, the delay would give them too much time to prepare for a vigorous defence.

Siege of  
Metz.

The French, however, were already more than suspicious: and as Metz was of great importance to them on that side especially, as a frontier town,

<sup>12</sup> Sleidan B. 24. p. 563—572. Recueil des Traites.  
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the most active measures were taken to secure it against the now evident design of the Emperor, to surprise, or besiege it. The command of the garrison, which amounted to about five thousand men was committed to the Duke of Guise, who possessed all the zeal, valour, and judgment requisite to the successful discharge of so important a trust. He was not only an illustrious warrior himself, but he possessed the natural qualities, or the art of attaching to him all those brave men who were, or wanted to be distinguished in arms. His liberality, his affability, his stately port and person, his sound judgment and serenity, endeared him to the soldiers, and inspired them with confidence. Among others who accompanied him to Metz at this time were Camille Morin, Saint Remi, and Peter Strozzi, whose talents and skill as engineers had distinguished them. On his arrival he found the city too extended and encumbered with suburbs, for such a defence as it might be necessary to make: the walls on the side, especially of the rivers, were old, and had no ramparts: the ditches were narrow, neglected, and generally occupied with gardens and cabins. Within, the houses were built too close upon the walls. He convened the inhabitants, represented to them with tenderness and eloquence the necessity of demolishing every thing, not excepting even churches and monasteries, which might interfere with the means of defence, and recommended to such of them as were superfluous, or for whom it would be inconvenient to remain within the walls of the city, to retire without delay into Lorraine, or Champagne, where he would take care that they should find as comfortable a refuge as circumstances would allow.

To

A. D. 1552.

A.D. 1552.

To soothe the general prejudices in favour of things ancient and sacred, he ordered a grand procession, in which preceded by the clergy, he walking bareheaded, with a torch in his hand, transported from the ancient church of Saint Arnulph, situated in one of the suburbs, the sacred vessels, reliques, and urns containing the ashes of Hildegard, Charlemagne's queen, of Lewis the Mild, and other princes, to the church of the Dominicans. The ruins of the demolished buildings, and the clay dug out of the ditches, furnished materials for new fortifications.

He set himself as an example of duty to every man. With the spade in his hand he spared no bodily labour, while he neglected nothing which required either study or superintendence. A spirit of emulation, a zeal spread over all ranks, and in a short time without any disorder, and without a murmur, under so many hardships the fortifications were completed, and the place was amply supplied with stores for a long and severe siege. The Duke now wrote the King that he had no reason to fear the fall of Metz: that it was of more consequence to beware of Albert of Brandenburg, who almost since the defeat of the Protestant Princes, at the battle of Muhlberg, had ravaged Germany as a freebooter, at the head of 20,000 men: Albert had originally offended the Emperor by professing himself to be an associate of Maurice, and a friend of the Protestants: he now pretended to be in the service of France, and quartered the French arms with his own in all his military standards. At the same time his conduct towards the city of Metz was very mysterious and teasing: he demanded provisions from it from  
time

A. D. 1552.

time to time, which was very unreasonable, considering that it was threatened with an immediate siege: and from the number and appearance of the troops which he sent to fetch what could be spared, he seemed to watch, and hope for some favourable opportunity of surprising the city. He then began to quarrel with the Commandant, to insist on a month's pay for his troops, as if they had been in the service of France. It became necessary to put an end to this behaviour, and to ascertain his real designs. The duke of Aumale was therefore dispatched by the constable, with an army to order him to leave the neighbourhood of Metz, and to pass by a route which was given him into Alsace. He proceeded so far according to this route; but treating it at length with contempt, Aumale approached him, and assumed a threatening posture. Albert, having carefully observed the position of the French troops, sent a detachment round the hill to attack their rear, while he gave them battle in front. He succeeded: they were totally defeated: about two hundred officers, noblemen, and gentlemen, were killed: the duke of Aumale himself was wounded, and taken prisoner, and was sent into the interior of Germany to be kept as an hostage, or security in case of any disastrous event for Albert's own person. He now threw off the veil, returned in triumph, joined the Imperial army before Metz, and thus secured his peace with the Emperor.<sup>13</sup>

The besieging army, including Albert's, might amount to 100,000 men, and was divided into three encampments, with a view both to main-

<sup>13</sup> Sleidan 575. Thuani Hist. lib. xi.

A.D. 1552.

Is raised.

tain the greater discipline and order, and to watch and harass the city the more readily and successfully on every side. They were extremely active, incessant, and furious : but the breaches, which they made in the external walls, served only to discover the strength of the internal new fortifications : and their violent attempts to storm, or more cautious endeavours to surprise, contributed only to provoke the brave men to rally out, which they often did with great success, or to render them more vigilant and patient. The duke himself slept little, visited the various posts with only two or three attendants silently, and at all hours. Such were his means of information of what passed among the enemy, and such the daring courage of his men, that he repeatedly sent out a party, cut off their foragers, and conveyed from them their provisions and stores into the city. After the two months, however, of November and December, the effects of winter became dreadful in the besieging army. Fluxes prevailed in all the three camps : Albert's men were so universally weak, that he had to borrow sentinels from the Duke of Alva : yet, on finding the breaches made in the fortifications practicable, Charles resolved on a general assault. But when the charge was given, his men, intimidated by the very appearance of the besieged on the walls, eager to encounter them, stood motionless. He loaded them with reproaches, but they were silent and dejected. It became necessary, he was now convinced, to raise the siege. Leaving 30,000 on the field, dead by skirmishes and by disease, he retreated over the Moselle with the remaining 60,000. Even these were not all able to continue their march. The French having

Jan. 1553.

having pursued and overtaken their rear, were melted with compassion, and rather administered to their relief than offered them the least violence. "Gentlemen," said an imperial officer to them, who had come up to him, "is it not military glory which you covet, in now offering to engage us?" "Yes," they replied. "Wait, then," said he, "till some other occasion present itself; for, in our present deplorable state, to fight or to harass us would be inglorious." The duke of Guise, on visiting the camp, was so generous, that he ordered all the medical and other assistance which was in his power for them, conveyed as many as were capable of being moved into the city, and administered relief and comfort with as much attention as if they had been his friends, or his own men. For this he is justly celebrated as much as for the wisdom and valour with which he defended the city.<sup>14</sup> A. D. 1553.

Henry, not a little elated by this success, struck medals in commemoration of it, and published addresses to the free states of Germany, in which, with an unbecoming spirit, he insulted his humbled enemy, warning them to trust him no more, who had so often proved faithless and impotent: to vindicate their own independence and privileges, and to confide in France, which never had failed and never would desert them. These vaunting publications were unnecessary to aggravate the humiliation of the Emperor. By means of some assistance which the French contributed, he was deprived of Siena in Italy: he was obliged to abandon Piombino as a pledge, in

<sup>14</sup> Salignac Journal; Thuani Hist.; Garnier Hist.



A. D. 1553. order to support his fallen credit : and instigated by the French, who intended a joint landing with the Turks, but were prevented, Naples was invaded and plundered by the latter. These disasters were sufficiently humiliating, without the insolence of public papers. The latter particularly provoked the rage of the Emperor, and rendered him impatient to efface the memory of these misfortunes, and to recover the military fame which they had obscured.

Siege of Terouenne,  
A. D. 1553.

Early in the year 1553, he assembled an army in the Netherlands, with which he laid siege to Terouenne. That city, which had been destroyed in the end of the reign of Lewis XII. was rebuilt, with regular fortifications, as an important frontier town on the side of the Netherlands, by Francis I. : but having no suspicion of hostilities in that quarter, it was ill provided, in respect both of stores and a garrison, for so formidable an attack. These were indeed conveyed in successfully by D'Esle Montalembert, formerly celebrated in the Scottish war, and who now assumed the command of the city. But all his skill and efforts were vain. He repelled the enemy indeed from the breach, at which they made a vigorous assault, and with the loss of about 300 men, and his own valuable life, he slew near 1500 of them. Fresh reinforcements arrived, but without effect : the place was taken, and not only the walls, but even houses were levelled to the ground. Hesdin was next invested, and though ably defended, was undermined, and laid in ruins.

A. D. 1553.

The subsequent campaign was conducted by  
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the Emperor, on the whole with similar success in the Netherlands, but was distinguished by no event worth recording. He thought himself fortunate at the same time in the fall of the elector Maurice, at the moment when he obtained a signal victory over Albert, which led soon after to the latter's ruin and exile. The one was his professed and successful foe; the other was an inconstant and troublesome friend. He had succeeded in negotiating the marriage of his son Philip with Mary Queen of England, by which, notwithstanding the extreme reluctance of the nation, he hoped to add another kingdom to his dominion. In these circumstances he was too much flattered by fortune, and too proud to listen to the Pope's mediation for a peace. The war was carried on however with no great vigour. Marienburg indeed was taken. The siege of Renti brought on a general engagement, which issued in the defeat of the imperial army; and a truce was finally entered into betwixt these two potentates for five years. Both parties were sensible of their exhausted state, and of the expediency of peace, but both were too proud to make the concessions, which each thought necessary, as the basis of negotiation. At last it was agreed that they should enter into no discussions, but retain what each of them possessed during the truce.

A. D. 1553.

Marienburg  
taken by the  
French, and  
battle of  
Renti, A. D.  
1554.

Feb. A. D.  
1556, a  
truce.

Charles was the more desirous to secure this suspension of warfare, in order to give Philip, to whom he had resolved to resign his hereditary dominions, leisure and quiet, to seat himself firmly on the throne. No prince was ever more ambitious than Charles, and few have been more

The resignation of the  
imperial  
crown by  
Charles V.

**A.D. 1556.** successful in gratifying their ambition; yet he had experienced many vicissitudes, and felt enough of the vanity, cares, and distractions of royalty and power to convince him, that they afford neither the purest nor most permanent enjoyment. By divesting himself of them, therefore, he hoped to pass the remainder of his days in a retired and tranquil state, free from business, and chiefly occupied in preparation for another and better world. The purpose was reasonable and pious, and the execution of it presents an interesting and sublime lesson of resignation, contentment, and humility to mankind.\*

Invasion of  
Italy.

Meantime, Pope Paul IV. extremely ambitious, and too much governed at the same time by his nephews, sons of the Count Montorio, had been persuaded by them to suspect the Emperor of designs against his life: to maltreat his friends whenever he found them in his power: in a word, to engage with France, in open hostilities against him and his son Philip. The duke of Guise, contrary to the late truce, and to the advice and remonstrance of the constable Montmorency, was dispatched into Italy, with an army of 20,000 men, besides many gentlemen, who accompanied him as volunteers, in the hope, both of witnessing signal exertions under this celebrated general, and of finding an opportunity of displaying their own talents in a field so eminent. But the Pope's preparations were far inferior to his rage against the enemy, and to the extent of his plans. He received the duke of

\* Godelev. in Abdicat. Imperat. Car. V. Strada, de Bello Belg.

Guise

Guise with great pomp into Rome; but he had provided neither soldiers nor magazines to co-operate with him in the war. The latter marched towards Naples, and offered the duke of Alva battle. But all his attempts were frustrated by that cautious general. His troops became sickly; Paul was disappointed, and sued for peace; and the duke of Guise was disgusted, and solicited his recall.

A. D. 1556.

A more honourable and important station was assigned him. Philip proposed to diminish the strength, by distracting the operations of the French army. Finding that he had little to apprehend from the thrust aimed against him in Italy, he directed all his attention and forces against the Netherlands, where the French least expected him. He assembled an army of 50,000 infantry, and 13,000 cavalry; and by a treaty with England, he obtained thence a body of about 10,000 more, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. He gave the command of his own army to Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy. The latter by various marches kept the French generals long in suspense, as to his real aim. They threw strong detachments into Champagne, thinking that Province was his first object, and were not a little alarmed, when they saw him turn suddenly to the right into Picardy, and lay siege to St. Quentin. Thither the Admiral Coligny was immediately dispatched with a large reinforcement to the garrison; and as it was of extreme importance, he determined to force his way, and with 440 men succeeded in cutting a passage through the enemy. His success, and his own celebrity, inspired the whole

Of the Netherlands.  
A. D. 1557.

A. D. 1557. garrison with fresh courage, so that they appeared invincible.

French army under the Constable defeated.

10th August 1557.

The French army under the constable Montmorency, was but 22,000 infantry, and about 6000 cavalry. That able commander was anxious still to throw more troops into the city, and succeeded in surprising the enemy, and forcing in 500 more. But in covering their passage through a marsh, which till now the enemy had neglected as impassable, he lost many men; and in making a feigned attack on the enemy's camp, by way of diversion, he came too near it. The duke of Savoy coolly drew out his army, and waited till the constable began to retreat: then fell on his rear, and totally defeated him, and took him prisoner. Four thousand of the French were killed, and about 4000 taken prisoners; amongst whom were the dukes of Montpensier and Longueville, the Marechal St. André, and above 300 other officers and gentlemen. The victors did not lose a hundred men, and got possession of all the standards, all the artillery but two field-pieces, and all the ammunition and baggage. Had the duke of Savoy taken advantage of the general consternation and pushed forward to Paris, he might there have probably been able to have dictated his own terms to the Parisians, and to the nation. But he seems not to have known the extent of his victory. A message from the duke of Nevers, proposing coolly a cartel, for the exchange of prisoners in the ordinary form, deceived him for a day or two, till he obtained a complete return of the killed, wounded, and prisoners; and he, or rather Philip his master, was afraid

to

to penetrate into the heart of France, far from his magazines, and leaving so many strong places in his rear. He returned therefore to the siege of St. Quentin, and gave Henry and his people time to recover from their panic. <sup>A.D. 1557.</sup>

The Ban, and Arriere Ban were ordered to assemble under the duke of Nevers at Laon in Picardy: the duke of Guise, and the veteran troops were recalled from Italy: Turkey and Scotland were solicited immediately to contribute their aid. Liberal contributions were made by the city of Paris and the other great towns, for replenishing the royal treasury, which was exhausted. The whole nation seemed animated by one spirit, to repel the enemy, and to vindicate the honour of France.

The duke of Guise was hailed on his return as the deliverer of his country: was appointed lieutenant general in chief of the armies of France: joined all the troops which could be collected at Compiègne: and without losing a moment, astonished the enemy, by boldly investing Calais. He knew that it had been neglected by the English, was garrisoned by comparatively a handful of men, and might be taken by a coup-de-main, before the enemy had time to reinforce it. As the enterprise was unexpected and grand, so the execution was successful and splendid: In one week the garrison which consisted but of 500 men, surrendered, and thus restored to France that important key of the Continent, which had been 210 years held by

The duke of Guise.

Takes Calais.

<sup>2</sup> Thuani Hist. lib. xix. p. 388. Belcar. de Reb. Gall.  
D 3 the

**A.D. 1557.** the English. From Calais, after leaving a sufficient garrison, the duke marched to Guisnes and Hames, took the one by assault, and the other without unheathing a sword, deprived England of every foot of territory, which she had so long possessed in France; and while the king and the nation thought only of defending themselves, the duke by his vigour and promptitude, and in the face of a more numerous army, made conquests of the last importance to the kingdom. A French army after taking Dunkirk, was indeed afterwards defeated, and the general De Termes taken prisoner; but as the defeat was owing almost entirely to their wing being unexpectedly attacked by a fleet of English ships, which the noise of the firing had drawn to the coast, near Gravelines, the French lost no character, and retained all their conquest. The army under the duke of Guise, and that of the enemy under the duke of Savoy, each headed, now also, by its respective sovereign, lay encamped at no great distance the one from the other, equally afraid of hazarding an engagement. In these circumstances of awe and inactivity, no farther advantages being likely to be gained on either side, peace began to be seriously talked of: and after long and difficult negotiations, first at Cercamp, and then at Cateau Cambresis, a definitive treaty was signed 3d April 1559. The principal article in the treaty was, that France should retain Calais for eight years: after which, it was to be restored to England, under a penalty of 500,000 crowns: for payment of which five hostages were to be given, besides other security.<sup>s</sup>

Treaty of  
Cateau-  
Cambresis.  
A. D. 1559

<sup>s</sup> Id. *ibid.* lib. xx. p. 403 — 417. *Mémoires de Tavan-  
nes.* Popeliniere, l. 5. Du Mont, *Recueil des Traités.*

This

This treaty of peace was confirmed by the marriage of Philip king of Spain, with Elisabeth the eldest daughter of Henry, and of Margaret his sister, with the duke of Savoy, on the 26th of June 1559. Among other amusements, usual on such occasions, tournaments were exhibited by the Princes and nobility. The king himself was fond of this exercise, and vain of his dexterity and strength in performing it. He had cruelly witnessed, in the commencement of his reign, the fatal consequences of a judicial duel, in the death of his friend la Chateigneraie, yet continued to take pleasure in that kind of spectacle, which must have often recalled it to his mind : and which besides is itself not much less shocking than the inhuman contests of the ancient heathen gladiators. He fell a victim finally to his passion for this vain and dangerous amusement. The tournament, in which he, the duke of Guise, the prince of Ferrara, and the duke of Nemours were the principal actors was concluded, and he was retiring with universal and loud applause, when he observed two lances still unbroken, lying at the entrance into the theatre. Seizing one of them, he ordered the other to be given to Montgomery the commander of the royal Scotch guards. Thrice Montgomery declined the honour, and requested earnestly to be excused. The queen and other ladies also entreated the king not to expose himself to further danger. He became the more eager and obstinate : and almost without giving Montgomery time to put himself on the defence, sprung forward against him. The shock was so violent, as to raise the king's helmet, and to break the lance of his antagonist. A splinter of the broken lance

A. D. 1559.

Marriage  
Alliances.



A.D. 1559.

Death of  
Henry, 10th  
July, 1559.

lance entered his left temple, of which he died in a few days, on the 10th of July 1559, in the 41st year of his age, and 13th of his reign.

Being handsome and polite, he was much esteemed by those who had access to his person. He was desirous of popularity in the administration of every part of his government. He visited the courts of justice, and recommended expedition as one of the most valuable qualities of jurisprudence. He personally attended his armies, and was fortunate in having such able generals. He believed that it was his duty to persecute the Calvinists, and to maintain the established religion. In this only he showed great severity, and intolerance of disposition.

#### THE REIGN OF FRANCIS II.

FRANCIS ascended the throne at the age of sixteen. His delicate constitution and frequent maladies, prevented almost entirely his application to study, marred his education, enfeebled his mind, rendered him altogether dependant on others, and, during his short reign, occasioned disorders and evils, from which the kingdom never thoroughly recovered. The queen mother, Catharine de Medicis, in fact, was regent, though the king was legally major, and she conducted the government in his name. She was well qualified for that charge. To caution and prudence, for which she was peculiarly distinguished, she added considerable address and energy. She was not ignorant of the political state

The queen-mother administers the government.

state and relations of the kingdom, and had already some experience before the death of her husband, in the administration of public affairs. But she was a stranger, unconnected with any of the great families of France, liable to their jealousy, and envy, and particularly in danger of being distracted, if not overwhelmed, by the three great factions, who were all now ambitious, with or without her, to fill the court, and to direct the government.

A. D. 1559.

Three great factions.

One of these factions, the malcontents generally of the kingdom, was headed by the constable Montmorency, who after various fortune, retained the chief share in the late king's affection and government to the last, and entertained the hope, that the son would repose equal confidence in the friend of his father and grandfather, less capable indeed now of active service, but more mature in wisdom, and abundant in experience. The young king, however, was instructed, when he waited on him to tell him, that he was sensible of his services, and of the advantages which he might reap from his counsels, but that he could not be so cruel as draw off his strength to the very dregs: that he thought him now entitled to repose, and as it was the only reward which he had to bestow, so he cheerfully conferred it, the privilege of retiring during the remainder of his life to the enjoyment of his private estate, but with this provision, in case of any emergency, that he might call for his advice and countenance. This speech was put in the mouth of Francis, by his mother, who might in other respects have preferred the constable and his friends; but had never been able to forgive him

That of Montmorency and the malcontents.

**A.D. 1559.** for supporting her rival, and for having not only advised the late king to divorce her, on account of her long-continued barrenness, but insinuated her subsequent infidelity to the marriage bed. It is no wonder, therefore, that she felt strong resentment, and rejected the idea of much intercourse with him.

That of the  
Guises.

At the head of the second faction was the duke of Guise, a descendant of the ancient house of Lorraine, and illustrious himself as the defender of Metz, and the conqueror of Calais. His rank, his fame, and power exposed him, under a weak prince to the suspicion, as was insinuated by his enemies, if the government, and especially the army were entrusted to him, of imitating the ancient mayors of the palace in seizing the sceptre and usurping the throne. His brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, was an able coadjutor, a profound politician, and enjoyed an extensive influence through his abilities and rank in both church and state. Their power was vastly augmented by the marriage of Francis, when Dauphin, to Mary Stuart, the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Scotland, daughter of James V., and Mary of Lorraine, sister of the duke of Guise. These were not circumstances which recommended the Guises to the queen mother; but she made a virtue of necessity. She would have even preferred the constable and his friends, but the love of power made her attach herself to those who were able to support her administration with the least danger of embarrassment and contention.

That of the  
Princes at

The most dangerous faction of the three might have

have been that which acknowledged the king of Navarre as their leader, if he had been animated with an active, bold and enterprising spirit. But Antony duke of Vendome, prince of Bourbon, was more humane and benevolent than ambitious: on the death of his father-in-law, Henry of Albret, king of Navarre, he found it necessary rather than desirable to assume the royal title, and claimed, as his predecessors had done in vain, the territories which till the reign of Henry II. had belonged to it in Spain. He was not destitute of the feelings of resentment, because his interests were neglected in the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, though he suppressed them: and during the late reign had given proofs of his military talents, though he preferred the enjoyment of private life. It was therefore with reluctance that he left his retirement in Bearn, to engage in the political contentions of the court. He was the first prince of the blood royal, and best entitled, as nearest to the crown, to administer the government. He was urgently invited by the constable to come and assume it. But when he recollected the several injuries which he had sustained by his means, he was jealous of his sincerity, and slowly yielded to his persuasion. He did not see his error, that he had lost the only remaining opportunity of recovering his influence, by uniting with the house of Montmorency, till he heard of the constable's fall, and the admission of the house of Guise to the full possession of the court. Though now too late, after much hesitation, he set out under the pretext of merely doing homage to the young king. At the same time he announced to his friends, and to all whom he knew to be adverse to the house of Guise, that his design in going to court

A. D. 1559.

the head of  
the reform-  
ers.Antony  
king of Na-  
varre.

A. D. 1559.

court was to endeavour to obtain general liberty of conscience, the reform of certain abuses in the government, and security for the maintenance of the privileges of the nobles: that his success in these things he had reason to believe might be proportioned to the appearance of his political influence and power: and therefore he requested that all who were personally attached to him, and who favoured these designs, would be ready to attend him. This invitation produced such a concourse as presented at first the appearance of an army; but he dismissed the lower ranks, until accompanied by some only of the higher orders, he should try what mild and prudent measures might accomplish.

Prince of  
Condé.

His brother the prince of Condé, was of a different temper, and one of those who advised bolder measures. Frank, generous, sincere, active, daring, he could not dissemble his indignation against the Guises: and he saw no way of humbling them, and of obtaining the rank and influence in the government which belonged to his family, but by prompt and vigorous hostilities.

Admiral  
de Coligni.

Gaspard de Coligni, the admiral of France, (for there is but one admiral, actual commanders of fleets are but vice-admirals), resembled in temper the king of Navarre, more than the prince of Condé. He was cautious, but profound: well acquainted with human nature, and had acquired great experience in the management of public affairs. He saw the danger of any rash and crude plan, opposed to such men as those of the house of Guise.

D'Andelot, his brother, was not inferior to him  
in

in sagacity, but had less experience, and was more prone to violence and enterprize. A.D. 1559.

Odet de Coligni, cardinal de Chatillon, likewise his brother, was a man of superior talents. His natural temper and official habits, led him to the cultivation rather of the amiable and Christian virtues: and though a cardinal of the Catholic Church, he was like all the other chiefs, now enumerated, and others of the same political party, attached to the reformed religion. Cardinal de Chatillon.

This religion not being materially different from that of the ancient Waldenses and Albigenses, found the current of popular prejudice run strong in its favour, especially in the southern provinces of France. A remnant of that venerable sect, which had escaped the persecutions of the thirteenth century, still occupied the remote vallies betwixt Dauphine and Piedmont. There, unknown or unobserved, they enjoyed the Scriptures in their vernacular tongue, and the preaching of their Barbes, undisturbed on the sabbath: excepting when on information being given to the Pope, he raised a sharp though short persecution against them, during the minority of Charles VIII. Louis XII. was also solicited to exterminate them, but on carefully examining their principles and practice, he resolved to tolerate and protect them. The Waldenses and Albigenses.

• Davilla's History of the Civil Wars, book ii. edit. 1678. Castelnoux informs us that the reformers got the name of Huguenots in France, from being generally of the lower order, "Men not worth a Huguenot, or Denier." Many other etymologies have been proposed, but none more natural or probable.

They

A. D. 1559.

They heard with joy of the reformation : they deputed some of their Barbes to wait on some of the eminent reformers. Bucer and Oecolampadius, to whom they were directed, and with whom they had much conference, were transported with joy, on finding that the charge of innovation was totally removed : that this venerable sect in the vallies of Piedmont agreeing with the Protestants almost entirely, both in doctrine and discipline, was able to trace its existence, if not its origin, to almost the remotest ages of the Christian church : that it had once extended over the southern provinces of France, and a considerable part of Italy, and had been almost crushed by the superior and tyrannical power of the church of Rome. Now they united with Bucer, Calvin, and De Viret, and published the joint confession of their faith at Neufchâtel. Besides their sequestered vallies, the county of Venaissin, the town of Cabriere in Provence, the city of Merindal, and about thirty villages, belonged to them. Hence they formed a great accession to the more recent reformers in France and Switzerland. Their union rendered them more bold, and their zealous and daring spirit exposed them the more to the jealousy and resentment of their Catholic enemies.

Persecutions  
which they  
suffered.

On a complaint of the Archbishop of Aix, the parliament of Provence, 1540, passed a decree against eighteen principal inhabitants of Merindal, who, failing to appear, were declared rebels and exiles : and the decree adds, " Seeing that Merindal and its vicinity is notoriously the residence and retreat of these damnable heretics, the court ordains, that it be rendered desert and uninhabitable :

habitable: that all the houses be burnt, the castles demolished, and the woods cut down around them." As this decree could not be executed to any extent without the aid of government, it was appealed to the King. William du Bellay was commissioned by Francis I. to enquire into the whole circumstances of the case, and to report. His report stated, that after the most careful and faithful examination, he was satisfied that, however much these people called Waldenses might err in matters of faith, they were irreproachable in their manners: laborious, sober and charitable; faithful subjects; skilful, honest, and industrious husbandmen, who had raised wherever they settled the value of the lands threefold; paid taxes cheerfully, exercised hospitality with generosity; a beggar was not to be seen among them: that it was true they could seldom be prevailed with to attend religious worship in Catholic churches, and they never prayed to saints. On this report the king granted a suspension of the decree for three months; after which, if they did not submit to the Archbishop of Aix, they were to be punished with rigour. Even this sentence was not executed through the tolerance of the first president Chaffanée, who wrote a satire of considerable genius and humour on the occasion.<sup>10</sup> A. D. 1559.

<sup>10</sup>Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi. Hist. de Vaudois. Thuani Hist. The author relates, that while he was an advocate at Autun, the country was overrun with rats. When every other remedy proved ineffectual, they were excommunicated. They were summoned from the pulpit of every parish to appear: they were excused at last in consideration of the length of the journey, of the danger of cats on the road, of the young and innocent, &c.

But



A. D. 1559.

But his successor John Monier, Baron d'Oppede, prosecuted the sentence with extreme cruelty; animated, it is said, by private resentment against the countess of Cantal, whose lands were peopled with inhabitants of this description. He represented them to the king as bad subjects, who entertained a correspondence with the enemies of the kingdom, and were prepared with sixteen armed men to encourage and assist an invasion of the kingdom. This representation, however improbable, was believed: commission was granted to the baron to execute the former sentence on them, which he did with every circumstance of cruelty. He raised an army, with which he came upon them unsuspecting and defenceless. Many of them fled as far as their strength could carry them, and beheld from a distance their farms, and fields, and villages in flames. Men, women, and children, who remained, were treated with great barbarity, and generally massacred. Two and twenty villages were burnt; 4000 persons of all sexes and ages were put to death; 700 able-bodied men were sent to the galleys. With this persecution the name of Waldenses ceased, or was lost in the more general name of Reformers, and Huguenots.<sup>11</sup>

Creed and discipline of the reformers of France.

It has been already stated in the preceding volume,\* that from the institutes of Calvin, which

<sup>11</sup> Id. Ibid. Garnier Hist. T. 26. p. 21 — 40.

The chief actors in the above tragedy were afterwards called to account in the reign of Henry III. They were put to a great deal of personal trouble in attendance and pleadings, but were all, except Guerin the advocate general, allowed finally to escape punishment in this world.

\* See Chap. II. Sect. 3.

contain

contain the creed of the Huguenots, or reformers generally in France, it appears, that they agreed with the Roman catholics in the doctrines respecting the holy Trinity, Divine Providence, a future state, original sin, and general depravity, the incarnation, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. That they agreed with Luther, in admitting that man was originally created with a free will, but that he lost it by apostacy, since which it is held in bondage by depraved affections : in teaching that mankind are justified by faith in the atonement and righteousness of Christ only, and that the grace of God is necessary not only to commence, but to carry on the regeneration of the soul. That they agreed with Zuinglius in condemning both the transubstantiation of the church of Rome, and the consubstantiation of Luther ; and in asserting the simplicity of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the original institution of it in Scripture : in denying that there is any change on the elements by consecration, for that they are mere figures or signs, designed and calculated to assist the mind in the exercise of spiritual devotion. The sacrifice of the mass, therefore, with all its folly and impiety, they absolutely condemned. In almost every thing else, but consubstantiation, they concurred with Luther, in opposition to the catholics, in abjuring the supremacy and infallibility of the pope, the invocation of saints, purgatory, indulgences, monastic vows, and clerical celibacy ; and in declaring the Holy Scriptures to be the only foundation of faith. These doctrines above stated, as contained in Calvin's Institutes, were nearly, or almost entirely the same with those of Bucer in Switzerland.

A.D. 1559

**A.D. 1559.** land, the thirty-nine articles of England, and the Westminster Confession of Faith finally adopted in Scotland. Though this work, the Institutes, which will remain for ever a monument of Calvin's learning, sound judgment, and elegant Latin, was neglected by the King, Francis I., to whom it was dedicated and presented, yet it was circulated over the kingdom, and over the neighbouring states, silently convincing, converting, and establishing many to whom its author could have no personal access.

The faith of these doctrines spread the more rapidly in France, and especially in the southern provinces, because the knowledge of them, derived from the Waldenses and Albigenes, was not utterly lost; the memory of that sect was still respected; the influence of the queen of Navarre, the great patroness of the reformed, prevailed chiefly there; and there the people, at a distance from the seat of government, were not at first so rigidly watched and restrained.

During the reign of Francis I., in fits of zeal, when he wanted especially to remove from the pope, and other catholics, the suspicion of his sincerity in the catholic faith, he ordered local and temporary persecutions; but on the whole, from respect to his sister, the queen of Navarre, if not from his own regard to the doctrines of Calvin, his conduct towards the reformers was generally mild and forbearing. Their number increased prodigiously. There was scarcely a large city, or moderate town over the kingdom, in which they had not at least one church or assembly. They had for a long time, indeed, few settled

settled ministers. Their public devotion consisted chiefly in reading the Scriptures, in prayer, and when they could do it with safety, in singing of psalms. When an itinerant minister visited them, as Farel, Faber, or Le Fevre, Ruffel, Calvin, &c. he preached, baptized their children, and administered to them the holy sacrament of the supper. They obtained fixed pastors most early at Meaux, Senlis, Orleans, Lyons, and in the provinces of Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. The first settlement of a church in Paris was in September, A. D. 1555. John de Macon, originally educated for the law, was chosen minister, and other members were appointed elders and deacons. The congregation consisted of about 400 communicants, besides the multitude of ordinary hearers.<sup>12</sup> Another was in a short time formed under Mr. Antony de Chandieu. The king of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Colignis, soon after began publicly to countenance them, even in the metropolis; and by the year 1559, Mezeray observes, that there was no town, province, trade, or body of men, learned as well as unlearned ecclesiastics, as well as lawyers, some of whom had not embraced the doctrines of Calvin. In the year 1559, a synod, consisting of ministers and elders, representatives from all the churches over the kingdom, was held at Paris, in the month of May. Mr. Morel, another of the ministers now of Paris, was chosen their moderator, or president. The design of it was, to frame a confession of faith, and a system of discipline and ecclesiastical government, in which

A. D. 1559.

<sup>12</sup> Beza, lib. 2. Laval's Hist. book i.

A.D. 1559. they might all agree; and which, for the sake of uniformity and mutual support, they should all resolve stedfastly to maintain. The confession of faith which they drew up consists of 40 articles, the substance of which has just now been already stated, and compared with those of other churches. They may be consulted at full length in Quick's Synodicon, or in Laval's History of the Reformation.<sup>13</sup>

This synod or assembly which sat four days in Paris, and consisted of about 144 members<sup>14</sup>, was held with so much secrecy, that none of them was discovered, nor troubled by the government. Next year, above 60 churches and ministers were added to their number, making more than 130 over the kingdom; besides many places still unprovided with pastors, or regular assemblies, though decided in their attachment to the doctrines and discipline of the reformed. Supposing 1000 only to belong to each, and reckoning but 130 churches, the whole number of professing protestants at this time in France might be about 130,000 souls, besides 20,000 in embryo churches, not yet provided with ministers.<sup>15</sup>

The king of Navarre having selected about 800 from the multitude who offered to attend him, left Bearn, and arrived with this company at Paris. The court received him coldly: did

<sup>13</sup> A copy of them, and of the Articles of Discipline, will be found, Chap. II. Sect. 2. of this volume.

<sup>14</sup> One half were ministers, and the other elders.

<sup>15</sup> Id. Ibid. p. 146—158. Beza Hist. lib. 11.

not appoint any deputation, as usual, to meet him : assigned him no lodging. When he waited on the king, the latter never conversed with him, but in presence of his mother and the Guises. Catharine artfully persuaded him not to obtrude himself on the government, nor to attempt any violence, though he should be disappointed in his expectation of a share in the administration. In a word, she prevailed with him to return peaceably home ; and, as a mark of peculiar favour, offered him the high honour, as she said, of conducting the princess Elizabeth, the king's sister, on her way, in order to be married to the king of Spain. She added, that this commission might afford him a good opportunity of negotiating with that monarch for the recovery of Navarre, and in which she promised to support him with all her influence. It was a mere artifice ; but it was successful. This poor prince found that he could not remain with honour at court ; that he could not bear the thought of a civil war ; and yet retirement, without some good ostensible cause, might appear a disgraceful flight. He readily accepted the offer, therefore, of conducting the royal bride, and flattered himself, though with deceitful hopes, that his native dominions might be soon restored to him.

A.D. 1559.

Is dismissed.

To the queen-mother, and the Guises, this appeared a great point gained : the dismissal of the first prince of the blood from Paris ; the separation, as they hoped, of the head of a formidable faction from its inferior members. But the Prince of Condé more than supplied his place, as he was more decided, more active,

The Prince of Condé's conspiracy.

A. D. 1559. and enterprising. He immediately assembled the other chiefs of the party, stated their common grievances, and added an account of the manner in which his brother had been so recently treated, and so artfully dismissed. He spake with so much dignity, boldness, and eloquence, as carried his hearers entirely along with him. The admiral only continued to recommend prudence as essential to their success. It was proposed and resolved that they should privately interest and unite the Huguenots all over the kingdom, who favoured their views in the same plan. That a petition should be drawn up and addressed to the king; claiming the free exercise of religion, the banishment of strangers, the Guises, &c. from the court, the restoration of the princes of the blood to a share in the government, and the redress of other grievances. That five hundred men from every province of the kingdom, should be ready at the same instant at Blois, changed afterwards to Amboise, the place of rendezvous, in order to present, and by their appearance enforce this petition, and if necessary, being refused, to remove by force evil counsellors away from the person of the king. To the Sieur Renaudie was committed the general charge and direction of the conspiracy, a man of great penetration and courage, whose mind was improved by many vicissitudes, and who, though originally of high rank, had now little fortune to lose. The prince of Condé, to remove suspicion, and to be at hand for the purpose of suggesting expedients, or taking advantage of any circumstances, was to attend on the person of the king, as in the discharge of his duty, and unconnected with the conspirators, unless it became necessary absolutely to interpose his

his personal service. The 15th of March, 1560, A. D. 1559. was fixed on for the execution of this plan.

The plan of a conspiracy so generally communicated even as a secret, could not be concealed, and the court being assured of it, was filled with alarm, and removed for greater safety to Amboise. The duke of Guise was declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The prince of Condé was ostensibly entrusted with an important command at one of the gates of the city, but was in fact surrounded with spies. Different parties of soldiers were placed on the roads leading to the city, by which it was known the malcontent petitioners were advancing. The count of Sancerre, at the head of one of these parties, surprised and seized the men of Bearn, the duke of Nemours, those from Gascony, the lord of Pardaillan encountered Renaudie his relation, who, by a circuitous road, had got nearer the city with his people, and was more on his guard. Neither shrunk from his opponent. The latter, Renaudie, spurred on his horse, and piercing Pardaillan's vizor, laid him dead on the ground. But Pardaillan's page, with a carabine, shot Renaudie, and wounded him mortally in the thigh. In vain others resolved to storm the city, and did attack it on all sides furiously. They were easily dispersed by the regular troops. Many of them took refuge in the houses of the suburbs, where being surrounded, and the houses being set on fire, they miserably perished. Many were also taken prisoners, who were cruelly tortured and wantonly put to death. <sup>is defeated.</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Id. Ibid. Beze Hist. des Eglises reform. liv. 3. Thuani, lib. 24.



A. D. 1559.

Information having been lodged against the prince of Condé, orders were issued to search his house for arms and papers; while this was doing by the officers, and, after nothing which they looked for could be found, they seized a small box in his own apartment, which they insisted on opening. His servants refused: during a warm altercation which followed, the prince himself came in, and readily opened it, exposing to view his most secret papers. Nothing of which he was accused having been discovered, it was reasonable to expect that they should have given him no more trouble. But the queen-mother sent for him, and in presence of the cardinal of Lorraine, informed him of the reports which she had received unfavourable to him. They offered to place him behind a curtain, where unseen he might hear himself the treasonable practices laid to his charge. This he declined, saying, it would be unbecoming his rank and character to hide himself. He offered to vindicate himself rather by duel, and challenged any one openly to accuse him; and as no one accepted his challenge, he besought the king to listen no more to secret and insidious accusations.

The chancellor Olivier's death.

During these transactions died the chancellor Olivier, a man of a good and upright mind. He was carried along, however, with the spirit of the court, contrary to his own opinion, to give judgment against the reformed. For this he is said to have suffered much at the last, and that when the cardinal of Lorraine visited him on his death-bed, he expressed in strong language his regret for having concurred with him in measures productive of so much persecution and bloodshed.

He

He was succeeded by Michael de L'Hospital, a man of great sagacity, learning, and integrity, by whom the queen-mother hoped, in some degree, to counteract and moderate the ambition of the Guises, which she now felt becoming too great. He soon had an opportunity of displaying his prudence and the mildness of his temper. They proposed to establish the inquisition in France on a plan like that on which it was instituted in Spain. He did not venture to oppose directly what appeared to be the almost unanimous resolution of the court. But he observed, that however useful it might have been twenty years sooner, it seemed now too late to produce the good effect intended. That in other countries, as at Naples and Rome, where the people were more likely to bend without resistance under the yoke of absolute power; they had opposed it in a manner the most tumultuous and violent. That the people of France; though sensible to expressions of favour and kindness, were irritable, and in their present circumstances might strongly resent any such oppressive abridgement of their religious and civil liberty; that the very name of inquisition was odious to them, and as inconveniences had evidently arisen from the interference of civil with ecclesiastical judges, and from the delay of criminal procedure by tedious appeals from inferior to superior courts, he proposed, in place of so violent an innovation as the establishment of the inquisition, that henceforth the crime of heresy should be no longer subject to civil but ecclesiastical jurisdiction. That attendance on religious conventicles should be held treasonable, and might be judged of summarily by the presidial courts of the provinces. That five hundred

A. D. 1559.

Is succeeded  
by L'Hos-  
pital.Edict of  
Romorencin.

A. D. 1559. crowns should be paid to every informer against these conventicles, and that bishops and vicars, governors, bailiffs, and seneschaux, having the superintendence of the execution of such a law, might answer the end proposed by the inquisition, without exciting the indignation which might be incurred by the erection of that universally unpopular tribunal. This proposal was agreed to, and was published as a law of the kingdom, more generally known by the name of the Edict of Romorentin.

Like almost all compromises, this edict was equally unsatisfactory to both parties; to the protestants, because it prohibited their meetings for public worship; and to the catholics, because the remedies which it offered had already been found ineffectual for curing the malady which threatened the established church. How could bishops, who did not reside within their dioceses, superintend and enforce the execution of the law? Or could it be expected, that bailiffs, seneschaux, and governors, who were protestants, would rigorously execute the law against those of the same faith and practice with themselves?

The government was the more uneasy, because, notwithstanding the most rigid economy, the revenue of the state was unequal to the necessary expenditure: the public credit was gone: commerce declined: agriculture in some of the provinces was almost abandoned. Any new taxation in these circumstances, might excite general irritation without being productive. Were a meeting to be called of the states general, that body, observing its own importance, might claim

claim rights which it would be unsafe to grant, <sup>A. D. 1559.</sup> or assume entirely the administration into their own hands, and accomplish a revolution in both church and state; or by the violent concussion of nearly equally balanced parties, involve the nation in extreme disorder and civil war. After much deliberation, it was resolved by the court to convene rather an extraordinary meeting, neither of the states-general nor of the notables, but merely of the princes of the blood, the chief officers of the crown, the counsellors of state, and some others of inferior rank, to deliberate on the critical state of the nation, and, if possible, to restore public tranquillity and confidence.

A meeting of this kind was accordingly held at Fountainbleau, on the 20th August, 1560. But the suspicions, which appeared, and the precautions taken, both by the Princes and the Guises showed, that their deliberations were not likely to be either composed, or cordial. The Guises placed a great number of troops in the neighbourhood, lest the princes should come as they had done formerly with a numerous and formidable body of attendants: and the latter declined to come to the meeting, apprehensive of their personal liberty and safety.

Conference  
at Fountain-  
bleau.

Even on the arrival of the admiral Coligni, with about eight hundred attendants, the court was alarmed: and hesitated for some time whether he ought to be treated as a friend, or a foe. Observing no hostile symptoms, however, he was welcomed, and the council was opened on the 21st.

The

A. D. 1560.

The king, in a short speech, informed the meeting of the design of his calling them : and requested and encouraged them to deliver their opinion freely, on the state of the kingdom.

The chancellor depicted, in strong colours, the deplorable state of public affairs, which required some immediate and powerful remedy. The duke of Guise represented the military state : and the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, the financial state of the kingdom : he said particularly that the expenditure was 2,500,000 above the revenue.

At the next meeting, the 23d, the admiral approaching the king, and kneeling, presented two petitions, which he said he had received for that purpose, from the protestants of Normandy, amounting to 50,000.<sup>17</sup> They generally set forth the hardships which they endured, the unreasonableness of the prejudices entertained against them, and of the penalties to which they were subject, that they were loyal, and would continue to be so, but prayed, that they might enjoy liberty of conscience, and the inestimable privilege of worshipping God publicly, according to the system of faith which they professed.

The bishop of Valence ascribed many of the evils, prevalent over the kingdom, to the non-residence and vices of the clergy, to the dissipation, and want of piety at court. He besought the queen-mother, and the queen to permit no

<sup>17</sup> Thuani Hist. and Castelnau. D'Avila says 150,000, Beze Hist. Laval's History, vol. i.

longer

longer the singing of profane songs in the drawing room : and recommended the Psalms of David, which he observed ought not to be denied to women in the vulgar tongue. He was of opinion, that a general ecclesiastical council, or if that could not be obtained, a national one, should be called for the purpose of settling all religious differences : and that in the meantime all opposition to established authority, on the one hand, and all severe restrictions, and capital punishments on the other, should cease.<sup>18</sup> This was also nearly the opinion of the admiral Coligni, in support of the petitions which he presented the day before ; but he pled more fully and fervently for liberty of conscience, and for the freedom of public worship to the protestants ; and while he approved of calling a general, or national council, he voted in the meantime with the Archbishop of Vienne and others for assembling the states general of France.

A. D. 1566.

The cardinal of Lorraine, and his friends strenuously opposed the admiral, and such as seemed to go into his views, but as he agreed with them in thinking that the states general should be convened, it was resolved to convene them accordingly at Orleans.

States General at Orleans, A. D. 1560.

In the meantime, the zeal of the protestants, and the precautions of the Guises, increased daily, and gave just reason for apprehending the most calamitous disorders, and civil wars. La Sague an agent of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé, betrayed by an unworthy confidant,

<sup>18</sup> Thuani Hist. lib. 25. p. 507. Beze Hist. lib. 3.

A.D. 1560. was by the fear of torture led into a discovery of all that he knew, and to say more, perhaps than he knew of plans of insurrection, and revolution devised, or encouraged by these princes, and their friends. An attempt to seize the city of Lyons: the boldness of the protestants in the erection of places of public worship, in the south of France; of Monbrun, in protecting himself by actual hostilities; and the general discontent, and spirit of sedition over the country, all tended to inspire the court with alarm. When the king went from Paris to Orleans, where the states general were to assemble, he marched at the head of an army, of above five thousand cavalry, and eight thousand infantry, of the best and most experienced troops in Europe. The princes were reasonably afraid to trust themselves, without an equal force, in the same city. After much hesitation, however, being urged, and deceitfully encouraged by the court to come with confidence, seeing no other alternative, but to rely on the honour of those who thus encouraged them, or to levy open war; they went unattended, but by their domestics. They had no sooner arrived, however, than the prince of Condé was arrested, and imprisoned, and the king of Navarre under the pretext of doing him honour, was constantly attended with a strong guard, by which he was separated from all his friends.

The prince  
of Condé  
imprisoned.

A confession of faith, or summary of doctrine, was composed, and intended to be offered to every person to subscribe, or approve. Every one who declined it, or who taught, or acted contrary to it, was to be declared seditious, and to be punished by confiscation, exile, or death.

The

The prisons every where, but especially at Orleans, Bourges, &c. were ordered to be repaired, and enlarged for the reception of the recusants, who were expected to be very numerous. A. D. 1560.

But the prince of Condé, considered as the head and most dangerous of the protestant party, was the great object of attention, and indignation. A commission was granted for his trial, and the process commenced, without delay. In vain he objected to the court that it was incompetent to judge a prince of the blood : in vain he requested that he might be allowed to consult his wife, relations, and friends. Two advocates only were allowed him, Pierre Robert, and Francois de Marillac, who being men of abilities, and fortitude, and attached to him personally, afforded him some consolation. He was chiefly accused of being the chief of the conspiracy at Amboise, and of the insurrection in Lyons. He was found guilty, and condemned to be beheaded. His own high spirit almost only was unmoved by the sentence. Even an adversary will be melted, when his enemy is disarmed. The court bewailed his fate, while they judged it necessary to their own safety. He dismissed the priest, who was sent to convert him, saying he had not come to Orleans to hear mass. To a gentleman who obtained admission to him, and officiously suggested some plan of compromise, he answered, that the only accommodation which he could now propose was written on his spear. The 10th of December was the day appointed for his execution, at the opening of the states general, with a view to strike the whole party the more with terror.

Tried and  
condemned,  
Nov. 1560.

But



A. D. 1566.

Death of  
Francis II.

But it was differently ordained by Divine Providence. The king, who was always feeble, being at vespers, fainted, and was carried home speechless. This was succeeded, by a great pain on the left side of the head, and by a violent fever, which lasted 17 days. He died on the 5th December, 1560, in the 2d year of his reign, and the 18th of his age.

He was so little regarded after his death, and every one at court was so engrossed with his own future interest, that no orders were given respecting his funeral: his corpse was carried privately to St. Denis, without any other friendly attendants than his late governors, Messieurs de la Brosse, and de Sanfac. A paper was found stuck to the pall, with this inscription, "Where art thou Tannegrey du Chastel?" alluding to the tender affection of that gentleman of Brittany, for his royal master Charles VII., who when all others had, for different reasons, neglected and deserted him, buried him most respectfully, at his own expence.<sup>19</sup>

#### THE REIGN OF CHARLES IX.

##### SECTION I.

CHARLES was but ten years and a half old when he ascended the throne: the kingdom was divided into two great factions, and every thing wore an irritable and threatening aspect.

<sup>19</sup> Castelnau, D'Avila, Laval, &c.

The

The queen-mother, who still held the reins of government, hoped to balance the parties, by equalising their weight the one against the other. She feared the Guises, yet placed more confidence in their talents : her affections inclined rather to the Bourbons, and Colignis ; but their party was inferior, and by encouragement might involve both church and state in all the calamities of a revolution. Notwithstanding her former prejudice she trusted in the moderation of the constable Montmorency ; she sent for him, and requested him to favour her in the exercise of the high power belonging to him as constable. She constituted the king of Navarre lieutenant over all the kingdom ; an office not dangerous in his hands, but flattering, and seemed a sufficient compensation, for his yielding so readily to her the regency, which, as first prince of the blood, he might have claimed for himself. The prince of Condé was set at liberty, and the sentence of condemnation against him was rescinded, both by the council and parliament. She succeeded in accomplishing an apparent reconciliation between the princes and the Guises, which was celebrated at court, with demonstrations of cordiality and joy.

A. D. 1560.

The two  
factions of  
the Guises  
and the  
Huguenots.

In these circumstances the assembly of the states-general, agreeably to the resolution of the council at Fountainbleau, was opened at Orleans, on the 13th December, 1560. On that occasion the chancellor gave a flattering account of the

States-general at  
Orleans,  
13th Dec.  
1560.

The president Henault in his Abridgment, denies that the queen-mother was ever regent, in opposition to almost every other historian.

A. D. 1550.

Speech of  
the chan-  
cellor.

harmony which prevailed at court, of the prudence of the queen-mother, and of the amiable dispositions of the young king. He stated the nature and design of the states-general, which had not been assembled for 80 years, since Charles VIII., cautiously showing, that they had no authority to dictate, but might with great propriety and success offer their advice : that no kingdom was ever more in want of wise and salutary counsel : the king was a minor ; the people divided into two great and violent factions ; the clergy dissipated, and non-resident : the treasury was exhausted ; and a debt incurred of 44,000,000 of livres, (about two millions sterling,) while the revenue amounted only to 12,259,829 livres : that though there were many mal-contentments, on account of taxes and other civil grievances, yet the chief occasion of complaint was religion, which he said, if a true religion, ought, as in primitive times, to produce not discord, but patience and peace. They found, however, as had often been experienced, that no zeal was ever so inflammatory as a religious zeal ; which also had been announced by Jesus Christ, when he said, " Think not that I am come to send peace on earth, I am not come to send peace, but a sword." It was necessary, therefore, he said, to apply some effectual remedy to this evil, by means of a general council, or by a reformation of life, especially of the lives of the clergy, and by a rigid execution of the laws.

This speech, which being delivered with manly eloquence, and luminous amplification, made great impression on the assembly, was however in several points strongly objected to. The power  
of

of the king, it was observed, was held too absolute, and the importance of the states-general, as almost insignificant: the princes were represented as too obsequious, and the protestants as seditious and violent. The speech being considered as the language of the court, little good was expected from this assembly. The clergy however refused to choose the cardinal of Lorraine as their orator, which seemed a prelude to the fall of the Guises: the nobles preferring the count of Rochefort, the clergy John Quintin, and the commons John L'Ange. Each of these orators addressed the states, pronouncing a panegyric on his own order, claiming the privileges, which he thought due to it, reflecting on the other orders, and proposing as remedies, the reformation of what each held to be grievances, and the calling of a general council. The nobles differed extremely in their opinions, and presented several different memorials. The memorial of the clergy was more moderate than was expected, considering the violence of Quintin's speech, which had been extremely offensive. That of the commons was very long, and as it contained the substance of the rest on the points of chief importance, it may be proper to present an abridged view of it.

A. D. 1560.

Different speeches and memorials.

Having described and deplored the corruptions of the church, and of the clergy, it proposed a general and free council as the only effectual remedy: in the mean time, that the elections of the clergy, both regular and secular, ought to be conducted in a manner more consistent with freedom and usefulness, and so as that virtue and learning might be more regarded as qualifications

Memorial of the Tiers Etat.

A. D. 1560.

cations than birth and political influence : that the clergy should be obliged to reside ; should retain a third only of their benefices for their own maintenance, applying a third to the maintenance of the poor, and the other third to the reparation, &c. of sacred buildings : that assistants, with a suitable provision secured to them, should be immediately found for the aged clergy, and for many who were notoriously unqualified : that no religious exercise or privilege should be performed or sold for money : that no person should be admitted to monastic vows, the females before twenty-five years of age, the males before thirty : that no annats, &c. should be transmitted to Rome : that no ecclesiastic should hold two benefices : that no concubine should be allowed to the clergy : that a prebend in every chapter should preach, in their mother tongue, to the people : that there should be a professor of moral philosophy in every university : that the prisons should be opened, and persecution for religion and conscience-sake should cease.

The memorial proceeded next to state the grievances of the class of peasants, or country labourers. Besides the accustomed feudal exactions, their immediate superiors demanded contributions in grain and straw from them, under the pretence of exempting them, by their influence, from lodging soldiers. If they refused, various means were employed irremediably to vex and oppress them, in their rights of wood, pasturage, mills, bridges, roads, or by hunting in their corn-fields and vineyards. The king was requested to constitute himself a party, in favour of the sufferers, in every such case as should be brought

brought before the proper court, in order to secure redress and justice; and to allow of no pluralities of civil and military offices, in order that the lower branches of the nobles might have more means of honourable maintenance, and might not be tempted to such iniquity and oppression. A. D. 1560.

It farther remonstrated against the sale of offices, which, in place of being a profitable fund to the crown, was extremely expensive and injurious; and demanded the abolition of many offices of late erection, which had been instituted only for the purpose of being sold: that those which remain should be obliged each to be more diligent, without devolving the duty every one upon another, both in the civil and military departments: that the burgeses of towns should have the right of electing their own magistrates: that the ancient sumptuary laws should be enforced: and that no more licences should be granted for brothels and gaming-houses.

It represented the necessity of economy in the management of the public finances, for the purpose both of reducing the immense debt, as they called it, and relieving, as far as possible, the nation from heavy taxes; not only to diminish the number of offices, but to appoint commissioners, for examining strictly and faithfully all public accounts: that by such economy there might be no necessity for the *taille*, the effects of which on the country in general, and on individuals, were deplorable: if it could not be altogether laid aside that it might at least be moderated, and levied by a new arrangement.

A. D. 1560.

It stated the disadvantages of certain restrictions on trade, both foreign and domestic, showing, with a discernment scarcely to have been expected in those times, that the more free it will be the more prosperous itself, and the more beneficial to the kingdom. It reprobated the mode of banking then frequent; foreigners circulated their paper, for which having obtained cash, they disappeared: and it proposed that even Frenchmen should not be allowed, on pain of death, to issue paper, without having first granted security to the amount of the credit which they expected from the public.

Finally, the memorial concluded with requesting, that the third estate might be permitted to carry fire-arms in their own defence, on a journey, as they were often exposed to robberies and death, by their defenceless state in dangerous situations; and that the states-general might be assembled every five years.\*

The memorial touched gently on the subject of the regency, concluding however that they had no doubt of the queen's continuing honourably to discharge that high office. They, together with the other two estates, examined the public accounts submitted to them. They all agreed in recommending economy; but, as if in concert, they declared that they had been chosen by their constituents only to draw up and present memorials of their grievances, and to offer their advice on the best means of com-

\* Procès verbal des Etats. Garnier Hist., Castelnau, D'Avila, Laval.

posing the discontents of the nation: that they had no power to decide on revenue, or to come under any obligation respecting it, or the debts contracted: that this could be done only by their being re-elected, with new powers to that effect, if the king chose to dissolve the present assembly, and order another to be thus re-assembled.

A.D. 1560.

Before they separated, the protestants presented a petition to the king, in name of all their churches over the kingdom, complaining that they only were excluded from his majesty's presence, and that his ears and counsels were open to all his other subjects but them, though they were so numerous in every part of his dominions, that it would be impossible to silence and subdue them: that the king ought not to judge of them generally by the small number which by artifice had been elected to be members of the states-general: that they professed the same faith with himself, and ought not to be treated worse in their native soil, than they should be were they to emigrate into Turkey: they requested that the horrible persecutions against them might cease, and that his reign might be signalised by lenity, and by permitting them to worship, under any public inspection which he chose, according to their consciences.

Petition for the re-formed.

A counter petition however was presented by Quintin, the orator for the order of clergy, in the states-general, praying that no innovations might be encouraged, which was read publicly, while the other was laid aside with silent neglect.

A counter petition.



A. D. 1568.

Some important regulations with respect to matters of finance, and courts of justice, founded on the memorials of the states, were enacted; but no other changes of any importance followed. The queen-mother was considered as confirmed by their acknowledgements, some of them indirectly expressed; and she had the art to improve every thing to her own advantage. The king of Navarre wanted spirit to oppose a female administration, on the general laws of France, though sometimes violated, as by Blanche, the mother of Lewis IX., and dared not to assert his own preferable right. She found, on the other hand, that she should be more secure, on the whole, with the Guises than with the opposite party; into their hands accordingly she now committed herself, and so commenced that administration which soon precipitated the kingdom into the most horrid civil war.

Mary queen  
of Scotland.

She had never been much troubled with the interferences of the young dowager, Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, then eighteen years only of age, and in the height of her beauty; yet she seemed relieved from an incumbrance, when that princess took her departure for Scotland. Mary was deeply impressed with the great change produced on her state at court, by the death of her husband; she was advised by her uncles, the Guises, to return to her native kingdom, where her presence might be of great service in uniting all parties, in strengthening the influence of the catholic church against the protestants, and in watching every favourable occurrence for securing her succession, in case of the demise of Elizabeth, to the crown of England. The  
dutchy

dutchy of Touraine, the county of Poitou, and other lands, besides pensions, being settled on her as dowager of France, she sailed from Calais on the 13th August 1561, and, eight days after, landed at Leith. The queen of England, who was extremely jealous of her beauty, and could not endure her as her successor, hoped to intercept her on the voyage: and was disappointed: she was destined by Providence to undergo many other hardships before she should actually fall into the hands of that cruel rival.

A.D. 1561.

Meantime Catharine, the queen-mother, endeavoured to strengthen her administration, by gratifying the princes, and soothing the protestants, or, as they are now always denominated in French history, the Huguenots. She opened their prisons, and forbade any farther prosecution of their persons and property, agreeably to the edict of Romorentin, which ordained canonical discipline only to be employed against the recusants. She invited back the prince of Condé, not only to court, but to his seat in the council: on his arrival, and on taking his seat, he was judicially declared innocent, and that declaration was afterwards registered by the parliament of Paris. Encouraged by these successes the party now hoped that they might be able either to drive the Guises from court, or to assert the right of the king of Navarre to the regency, and so, either way, to obtain a superiority in the government, and to triumph over all

Policy of the queen-mother.

<sup>2</sup> Castelnau, b. iii. ch. 1. Buch. Hist. Scotica, lib. 17. Robertson's History of Scotland.

their

A. D. 1561. their enemies ; and this, in all probability, they might have accomplished, had either the queen-mother possessed inferior talents, or had the king of Navarre been more distinguished by genius and firm judgment. This was an unfortunate interference. The queen at this time, especially by her late indulgences towards the Huguenots, plainly showed, as she did still more clearly afterwards, that her scheme of policy was not so much to discourage and depress them, but on the contrary to protect and support them, so far as that might promote her own designs of ambition, and maintain her own power in the administration. Had they connived at her, as the head of the government, and taken her side against the Guises, she would have tolerated them, and might have, as "a nursing mother," cherished and protected them, till they became strong enough to secure their own independence. By attacking her administration, and threatening to deprive her of the regency, they provoked her resentment, alienated her totally from the party, and forced her, in self-defence, to throw herself, as more safe, even into the hands of the Guises, whom hitherto she dreaded. What then could be more impolitic than the conduct of the king of Navarre, too sanguine and confident in consequence of the recent favour experienced by his party ? He waited on her at Fountainbleau, where the court now resided, and complained of the superior attention paid, and trust committed, still to the duke of Guise : that as long as this was the case he must continue liable to the insults to which he had been exposed during the two former reigns ; and therefore that either he or that

Feb. 1561.

that duke, as she chose, must that day retire from court. A.D. 1562.

With some emotion, she replied, that the duke, as grand chamberlain, was entitled to remain at court, and to discharge the duties of that high office; and having done nothing to incur her displeasure, she could not treat him with so much injustice and violence as to dismiss him from his attendance on the king. She added, that she had reason to believe this to be but the first of a succession of attacks aimed by the same party at those in administration, with a view to an entire revolution; and therefore was determined to be on her guard against them.

On receiving this answer he retired, and announced it to his friends; they instantly gave orders for their departure, all at once, from Fountainbleau to Paris, where they intended to proclaim the king of Navarre regent, and to assume the government of the kingdom. The unusual bustle which they and their retinue created, in preparing to leave the town, soon reached the ears of Catharine, the queen-mother. She summoned a council, in which the Cardinal of Tournon gave it as his opinion, that to detach the constable from them would break their union, and defeat their scheme; and such was his temper, that a respectful summons to wait on the king, would certainly detain him. It was issued, and he came accordingly. "As first officer of the crown," said the young king, "your presence is necessary at this crisis, and I therefore command you to remain near my person."

Conspiracy  
of the  
princes.

A.D. 1561.  
 defeated,

person." He bowed, and said, "I obey the king."

by the de-  
 fection of  
 the con-  
 stable,

Immediately on leaving the royal presence, he sent his apology to the king of Navarre. His apology was not accepted; three messages were in succession dispatched, requiring him to fulfil his engagement, and join the assembly of his friends at Paris. He not only refused, but prevailed with the king of Navarre to suspend his departure, until they should see, whether such terms as they could safely and honourably accept, might not yet be obtained from the King.

Steps were taken, in the mean time, to render their reception extremely agreeable at Paris. By the activity and influence of the marechal Montmorency, the constable's son, a numerous meeting had been held of the states in that city, in which it was resolved that Catharine, the queen-mother, should have the personal charge and tutelage of the king, and her other children, but that the king of Navarre, and failing him the prince of Condé, should be regent: that no cardinal, being engaged by his office to a foreign power; and none of the Guises, should have a seat in the council, but that it should be composed solely of the princes of the blood, the grand officers of the crown, and such other notable persons as might be recommended by the meeting of the states-general, to be soon assembled: and that the church lands only should be burdened with the debts of the crown.

When Catharine heard of these resolutions, she trembled, yet promptly occupied what appeared

appeared safe and tenable ground. Judging that the other cities and provinces would not be more moderate than Paris, she might have desponded ; but after some deliberation concluded, that by sacrificing a part, she might save the remainder of her power. She offered to divide the regency with the king of Navarre, by confirming him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with an authority nearly equal to her own, and to join his name with hers in all the public acts of the kingdom. She caught him in this snare, and by this artifice, changed into the opposite direction the whole current of affairs. It was published by sound of trumpet in every bailliage, " That the meeting of the states-general, to be held on the 25th May, was designed to deliberate merely on the state of the finances, and was not to intermeddle at all with any other affairs of government. That there being a good understanding betwixt the queen-mother, the king of Navarre, the king's uncle, the cardinal of Bourbon, the prince of Condé, the duke of Montpensier, and the prince de la Roche sur Yon, his cousins, who had all the best interests of the realm at heart, and were sufficiently able and willing to order public affairs, without any other interference ; therefore the deputies to that meeting were expressly prohibited from touching on them."

A.D. 1561.

and of the  
king of  
Navarre.

The admiral Coligny was next to be gained. He wanted nothing for himself, but toleration for the reformed religion and its ministers. He flattered himself, that by a few years toleration the general mass of the people might be so leavened, that a complete revolution should be accomplished without any bloodshed. He rashly ventured

Admiral  
Coligny  
more firm.

**A.D. 1561.** ventured to propose this to the regent, and flattered himself that he succeeded in convincing her. He even stated, that then the property of the catholics, being immense, and falling of course to the crown, would far exceed the public debts, and the other exigencies of the state, and of the new religion. The queen apparently assented: the chancellor approved of the project; and without delay it began to be executed. Though the time of Lent, the butchers' shops were continued open, and flesh was in general used at table. Sermons were preached even at court by protestant ministers. But the constable was offended, not understanding probably the queen's policy.

Accommodation of the queen

opposed by the constable,

He was struck with the boldness of the innovation, foresaw the extent of the consequences, contrasted them with old customs, to which his habits were long formed; or he might be moved by some secret and personal influence. By virtue of his official authority, he interrupted the preaching, and threatened to throw the preacher over the window.\*

and St. André.

The marechal de St. André, long a favourite of the court, and confident of the Guises, who had fattened on the spoils of the protestant confiscations, and who consequently had reason to fear the loss of every thing if they should yet prevail, observed eagerly this change on the constable, and thought it a crisis too precious to be neglected. Though a partisan opposed to the constable so determined, that any visit from him

\* Garnier hist. tom. 29.

excited

excited the greatest surprise among the domestics of the latter, yet he resolved to throw himself on the constable's candour, to penetrate his real sentiments, and to bring him to open decision. He proposed to consult him, who had so much superior wisdom and experience on the present momentous state of public affairs. He admitted the corruptions of the church, and that the Huguenots might be approved reasonably to a certain extent, if they aimed at mere ecclesiastical reformation: but where was the certainty that the disciples of Geneva might not carry their principles of reformation beyond the church into the state? It was impossible to foresee the end: the interest of royalty, of the civil constitution, of property, of personal safety was at stake; and therefore it was a serious question, what part they ought to act, who saw and felt the subject in a light so awful: that parties were so nearly balanced, that a few persons, that even the constable had it in his power to determine the preponderancy; and in this view he might be held responsible for all the consequences which might follow on either side: that he was desirous to attach his fortune to his decision, and either at once to join the princes, and the reformers, or to attack them openly before they became altogether invincible.

The constable heard him with profound attention; but said, it was a matter on which he ought to give no immediate answer; that it required both much deliberation and promptitude; and that he might return to him in a few days.

In



A. D. 1561.

The triumvirate.

In a word, from whatever motives, the constable preferred the old system, resolved to maintain it, and notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the admiral Coligny and his friends, associated himself with St. André and the duke of Guise, who were with indignation called by their opponents *the Triumvirate*.

Council at  
Rheims,  
June 20,  
1561.

The cardinal of Lorraine, as the head of the catholic party, took a favourable opportunity of representing to the queen, the interest of the royal family in maintaining and preserving the privileges of the catholic church and clergy, and the danger of a general revolution both in church and state, if wise and vigorous measures were not immediately adopted: that the established clergy were in many places prevented from discharging their duty, and publicly insulted and interrupted in the exercise of it: the tithes were positively refused: insurrections were frequent; and the people seemed on the awful verge of a civil war. She admitted the truth of all he said, and only desired that some effectual remedy might be pointed out. With this view an extraordinary council was held at Rheims. There the protestants complained that they were treated as heretics, without ever having had their claims, and principles as a body, publicly examined. They declared that the Scriptures, and the Apostles' Creed, were the foundation of their faith; and offered to submit to either a general, or a national council, to which they could have a free and safe admission, and in which they might obtain a candid hearing. Meantime they requested, that they might enjoy freely the privilege of religious worship, without unnecessary restraint,  
in

in the different cities, and under whatever inspection the magistrates might chuse to appoint. A. D. 1561.  
 This was opposed by a considerable number with violence, who insisted on the continuance of the severest persecution. Some, more moderate, voted for the relaxation of persecution, until the determination of a general or national council. A national council was disapproved of by many, at the very moment when the general council of Trent was about to assemble. The propositions most generally supported, and which were converted into an edict called *the Edict of July*, were that heresy shall be held cognisable by the spiritual courts only, and that the severest punishment of it should be banishment. That tumult, faction, and offence of every kind should be avoided; and that no meetings private or public should be allowed for the purpose of preaching or administering the sacraments in any other form than that of the established church. This edict, after the degree of liberty enjoyed by the protestants, was very humiliating and severe. The admiral, who had expected a very different decision, threatened again to question the queen's title to the regency. This, above all things she wished to avoid, and soothed him by various accommodations, and particularly by proposing a conference of the protestant with the catholic clergy, on their differences with respect to the disputed points of religion. Though disagreeable to the cardinal de Tournon, and others of the catholic clergy, this conference was actually held at Poissy, on the 9th of September 1561. Conference at Poissy.  
 Theodore Beza was one of the most respectable and able of the protestants who attended, and was politely and kindly received by the queen,  
 VOL. VI. C and

**A. D. 1561.** and even civilly by the cardinal de Lorraine. The king, the queen-mother, the duke of Orleans, the princess Margaret, the princes of the blood, the privy counsellors, 40 archbishops and bishops, and 6 cardinals, with a great number of nobility and clergy attended. The assembly was addressed by the king and the chancellor. The king shortly recommended good temper, such a candid, free, and dispassionate conference as might issue in general concord and peace. The chancellor stated, that one great object of the assembly was to propose and endeavour some such reform of religious doctrines and ecclesiastical discipline as had been intended by Francis I. and Henry II. That it might be too late to wait for a general council. And at any rate, their deliberations now might prepare and mature whatever they should judge proper afterwards to submit to its decision and authority. They were better acquainted with the circumstances of France, and more interested in them than strangers could be. That in their conference, and any plan which they might endeavour to found upon it, the sacred Scriptures ought to be their supreme and only rule. That avoiding prejudices, they should study to accommodate to, and approach one another: That thus only they could entertain the hope of success and of the divine blessing.

King's  
speech,

Chancellor's  
speech,

Cardinal of  
Tournon's,

The cardinal de Tournon said, that the chancellor had proposed for this conference, subjects on which he was not prepared to deliver an opinion, and on which he would not venture to say any thing without a previous consultation with his brethren, and desired a copy of that speech,

speech, which however the chancellor refused him. A. D. 1562.

Theodore Beza having been chosen speaker by his colleagues, in their name first addressed a solemn prayer to heaven, then, in the most respectful manner, and with much delicacy, eloquence, and success, endeavoured to remove the prejudices which many in that assembly might entertain against him and his friends. He said, that, unaccustomed as they were to appear and to speak in such an assembly, a good conscience animated them with confidence. That they derived no small encouragement from that meekness, which, addressing himself to the king, we behold already, remarkable in the countenance and speech of your majesty; from that equity, turning to the queen, which, madam, we are assured governs your heart; from that uprightness which distinguishes the princes of the blood, and the honourable lords of the council: and from that charity, my lords, turning to the bishops, which we cherish towards you, with whom we are to confer, presuming that you will join your endeavours with our more feeble efforts to discover, and promote rather than to conceal or betray the truth, to teach rather than to dispute, to weigh arguments rather than to oppose and contradict them. Beseeching you in the name of the great God, who has assembled us in this place, and who will judge our thoughts and words, that, notwithstanding all that has been said for about forty years, you will put off as we do, all passions and prejudices which may frustrate the good and holy end of our meeting. He stated briefly wherein the religion which he

Beza's,

A. D. 1561. and his friends professed, differed from that which they were reproached for having abandoned; dwelling more on the reasons of their faith than on the points in which their adversaries appeared to them absurd and blameable, avoiding every idea and word, as far as possible, calculated to disgust or irritate.

His discourse, says a Catholic, but impartial historian<sup>o</sup>, was perspicuous and well arranged, more eloquent and impressive than might have been expected from the subject and the age. It was heard with the most profound silence, and the most lively interest, till he came to speak of the eucharist, saying, "That the true body of Jesus Christ was as far from the bread, which represented it as the heaven is from the earth." At these words, a general murmur arose. Some muttered "blasphemavit." Some rose to go out, but were restrained. The cardinal of Tournon required either that the orator should be interrupted, or that he and his friends might be permitted to withdraw. But the king ordered silence, and Beza proceeded with meekness and eloquence.

Cardinal of  
Lorraine's.

When he had ended, the cardinal of Lorraine said, that either that man ought to have been silenced, or that they should have shut their ears. The cardinal of Tournon entreated the king to beware, lest the blasphemies which he had just been hearing, should leave any undue impression on his mind until he heard the reply which was to be made.

<sup>o</sup> Garnier, tom. 29. See also Laval's Hist. of the Reformat. D'avila, Thuanus, Castelnau, and Beza.

That

That reply was committed to the cardinal of Lorraine, who delivered it in the same place and before the same assembly, on the 16th September. He began with observing, that the law of God requires the most respectful obedience in civil matters to the king, and all subordinate magistrates. But at the same time, that in spiritual things they were not lords, rulers, or judges, but sons, not heads, but members of the church. This he said in allusion to the arrangement of this conference, in which the king sat as president. He insisted, that to the bishops only, in virtue of their ordination, belonged the power and right of presiding in religious conferences, judging and preaching the divine word. Since matters were so ordered, and since certain men were brought before this assembly, professing a desire of being restored to the church on terms which they prescribed: he was most willing, either to receive them on their simple profession of repentance, or to reason with them, in order if possible to instruct and convince them. The two points on which it appeared they chiefly differed from the church were, that they denied the authority of the church in matters of faith; and the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist. The cardinal spoke with eloquence, but argued entirely from the fathers, disregarding the principle of his opponents, that they acknowledged the Scriptures only. This speech was greatly applauded by his own brethren, who were for retiring, as satisfied that it was unanswerable. But Beza requested that he might be permitted to answer it, either now, or on another day. And being informed, by order of the king, that

A. D. 1562.

A. D. 1562. another day should be appointed to hear him, the assembly rose.

Arrival of  
the cardinal  
of Ferrara.

In the meantime arrived the cardinal Ferrara, the pope's legate from Rome, well known in France, since the reign of Francis I. uncle of the dukes of Guise, conservator of the French privileges at the court of Rome, and enjoying sixty thousand crowns of benefices in France. This relation to the kingdom, more than his abilities, suggested him as the fittest person at this time for this mission, the chief design of which was to prevent the meeting of a national council, and if possible the conference, which however was already opened at Poissy. He was very ill received, wherever he appeared publicly by the people. He was insulted as he passed through the streets of Lyons, and even under the eye of majesty, at Paris. Not only the people, but public and learned bodies, the states-general, and the university of Paris, remonstrated against his being received as the papal legate, or exercising any function in that character. He so far yielded to necessity that he laid aside his official dress, and appeared only in a private character; but he persevered not the less industriously, in fulfilling the end of his mission, and particularly in opposing indirectly the design of the conference. He succeeded in persuading the court, that the king and his brother should not attend, and that the meeting should be held much more privately. It recommenced accordingly, in this manner, on the 24th September, in the abbey of Poissy, where were present the queen-mother, the king and queen of Navarre, the princes of the blood, a few counsellors of state, five bishops, and

and about sixteen doctors. The discussion was renewed between Beza and Le Martyr on the one side, and Despenfe and Xaintes on the other. But it was attended with no good effect, and contributed rather, as public discussions on religion usually do, to irritate the minds of the disputants, to disgust the hearers, and to repel the opposite parties farther than ever from concord and union.

A. D. 1561.

The assembly of the three estates convened last year at Orleans, met again by prorogation, about the same time, proposed various healing measures in their several memorials, but with as little success. Every remedy suggested implied extreme disorder in the church, and the necessity of a general reform in her discipline and clergy, to which however they would not submit. They were too confident that there was no power sufficiently strong, to subject them without their consent. To avert in some measure the danger which threatened them, they conciliated somewhat the favour of the government, by granting of their own accord a subsidy of four tenths for six years, for discharging the debts of the crown.<sup>7</sup>

Sept. 1561.  
Prorogued  
meeting of  
the three  
estates.

These remedies having all failed, every thing hastened to a crisis. The king of Spain interfering, pretended that he had a right to challenge the conferences with the reformed, as derogatory to the church, which he would protect, and as even dangerous by the contagion of example to his own subjects. And therefore demanded that

<sup>7</sup> Thuani Hist. Bezz Hist. lib. 28. p. 561.



A. D. 1562. they should cease, and not only that the reformed ministers should be dismissed, but that active measures should be forthwith employed to subdue their disciples, and to extirpate their doctrines.

The king of Navarre seduced, associates with the triumvirate.

As the rank and influence of the king of Navarre appeared to the Spanish ambassador, to be the chief obstacle to the success of these remonstrances, he contrived to impose on his easy temper, by artful representations and alluring promises: he flattered him with the prospect of having his native dominions of Navarre restored to him: or that Sardinia should be given him in compensation for Navarre: that, as his present queen was a heretic, and heresy is a legal cause of divorce, and of confiscation of property, he proposed that he should repudiate her, yet retain her estates: and, in her room, marry the queen of Scotland, who, on the death of Elizabeth, or her expulsion as a heretic from the throne, was entitled also to succeed her as queen of England. In order to attain all these objects, he might rest assured of the patronage and power, both of the Pope and king of Spain. The idea of divorce was rejected with becoming indignation; but the recovery of Navarre was an alluring bait, which the weak prince greedily swallowed, nor perceived that it was dressed merely to catch and betray him, till it was too late. He withdrew himself gradually from his friends and the reformed party, and unhappily associated now, with the triumvirate, the duke of Guise, the constable, and the Marechal of St. André.\*

\* Thuani Hist. lib. 28.

In this inflammatory and critical state of the court and of the people, the least irritation or tumult was sufficient to shock and convulse the whole kingdom. A report, founded probably, if it had any foundation at all, on a mere playful prattle of the duke of Nemours, with the duke of Orleans, then about nine years of age, was industriously spread, as if a deep plot were laid by the Guise party, to carry off the young prince, and oppose him to the king his brother, whom they represented as poisoned by the queen-mother, and the reformers with Huguenot principles, and engaged as their tool for the total subversion of the church. It seemed necessary, therefore, to prepare for the worst, on both sides, to secure the king on the throne, or to provide a more suitable successor. The catholics were undoubtedly confident in their own strength, and on foreign assistance, and in that confidence became incautious, and outrageous in their behaviour towards the protestants. They were disposed particularly to disturb them in the exercise of public worship. This seemed to render it necessary for the latter to carry arms with them for their defence: and hence religious meetings were not unfrequently attended with bloodshed. In other quarters tumults subsided, as at Dijon, by simply repelling the aggressors with superior numbers. But in the capital of the kingdom, the tumult on such an occasion became general and alarming. On St. Stephen's day, while Mr. Malot preached at the church of the patriarch, the catholics set a ringing the bells of St. Medard, in the immediate vicinity, with a view to disturb him. One of the hearers, of the name of Pasquot went, and civilly requested the ringers to desist. Not only was his

A. D. 1561.

Irritable  
state of the  
people.

Tumult in  
Paris.

A. D. 1561. his request not granted, but the bells were rung more furiously; and on some farther irritation on both sides, the gates of the place were shut, and Pasquot was murdered. Rage succeeded; the gates were broken open; and every thing, images, pews, altars, and the very pavement, were converted into weapons of warfare: fifty were killed and dangerously wounded; and fourteen being taken prisoners, were tied with ropes, and as the aggressors were conveyed by a guard, amidst the infuriated catholic mob, to the public prison. Next day the protestants met in the same place; but being fully armed, they were allowed to proceed in their worship, and to retire in peace. In the evening after they had retired, however, their church was assailed, and finally burnt. Commissaries were appointed to enquire into the whole affair, and to report to the court: the catholic party prevailed, many of the protestants were committed to prison; and two were not only condemned to be executed, but the mob were allowed to execute them with circumstances of savage barbarity.

The queen enquires into the strength of the Huguenots.

It was now evident, that the queen-mother must either find a sufficient support and protection for the protestants, whose cause she seemed of late to espouse, or that she must in time abandon them. She appointed the chiefs, and ministers therefore, who were with her, to ascertain by the most prudent, but speedy and accurate means, the armed force, which they were able to furnish. Their first report was too general, that they consisted of 2150 congregations, some of which amounted to 30 or 40 thousand and many to 4000 each: she directed them to enter into a more particular

particular scrutiny : but fear suggested suspicions, which prevented many of them from making a due enquiry and report. An army of 50,000 men was however, generally promised for six months.<sup>9</sup> A.D. 1561.

Meantime she called an assembly of Notables, consisting of the presidents, several counsellors, and deputies from each of the parliaments of the kingdom, who met at St. Germain, 17th January, 1562. The king having addressed them, and encouraged them to deliver their opinion with freedom, on the state of public affairs, the chancellor stated, that the design of assembling them, was to consult them with respect to the best means of restoring the tranquillity and peace of the kingdom : he observed, that the public discord and trouble had arisen to such a height, that no sex, age, nor rank, was in safety and quiet : that former edicts had been ineffectual : that assemblies of the states, and the conferences of divines and clergy, had been equally unsuccessful : that even an army was scarcely to be trusted, for who would willingly fight against his father, or brother, or friend ? That the business submitted therefore to their judgment, was not whether the catholic or reformed religion was the best ? but whether the latter ought to be tolerated ? The meeting accordingly took this subject into their serious deliberation, and finally resolved to report their opinion : that the reformed religion should be tolerated with certain restrictions. On which the edict was founded and published, called the edict of January, commanding the protestants to restore to

Assembly of  
Notables.  
Jan. 17th,  
1562.

Edict of  
January

<sup>9</sup> Beza Hist. lib. 4. Thuan. Hist. lib. 28.

A. D. 1562. the catholics their churches, houses, and every thing whatever they had taken from them, and no more in any way to molest them : prohibiting them to assemble in any city for preaching ; but allowing them to assemble in the country and villages, or any where without the cities, suspending at the same time all penalties and execution of law against them, on that account : requiring that free access shall be granted, and due respect shown to any person or persons, whom the king may appoint to visit their assemblies, and to hear their doctrines : that no synods, or consistories shall be held without leave asked and obtained, and without some royal commissioner being present : that no money shall be raised by assessment : that alms shall be voluntary : that no men shall be enlisted : nor arms worn but by gentlemen, as usual : that political and civil laws, and the ordinary ecclesiastical institutions and customs, relative to holy days, marriage, &c. shall be respected : that the ministers shall bind themselves by oath, to preach no doctrine contrary to the pure word of God, as it is contained in the Nicene creed, and in the canonical books of the Old and New Testament : that no scoffing nor reproachful language shall be used in sermons : that no seditious person shall be concealed, under the penalty of 1000 crowns, 125l. sterling, or of being whipped or banished : that printers, and hawkers, of defamatory libels, shall be whipped for the first transgression, and if repeated, shall be punished capitally.<sup>10</sup> This edict which the parliament of

increases  
discord.

<sup>10</sup> Thuani Hist. lib. 29. Laval's History of the Reformation, vol. 1. book 3. p. 614. Edit. London, 1737.

Dijon absolutely refused to register, and which A.D. 1562.  
 the other parliaments, registered conditionally, and under protest, did not diminish but rather increased the spirit of discord and sedition. The Spanish ambassador persuaded the king of Navarre, that he must not expect to occupy his expected dominions either in Navarre or Sardinia, unless he exerted himself more to support the catholic church, and particularly unless the Collignys were dismissed with their dependents from court. On urging the queen to dismiss them accordingly, she consented, provided that the Guises should at the same time retire. They both retired accordingly, the latter to Joinville, and Rheims: the former with the prince of Condé to Paris: Each party hoped that they retained, notwithstanding, all their former influence in full force: the catholics in the king of Navarre, and the Spanish ambassador: and the reformers in the queen: and each was busy in his professed retirement, in concerting the plans, and strengthening the interest of his party.

The people of the cities especially were extremely dissatisfied: the protestants, because they were required to give up the churches and houses which they occupied, and were prevented from holding any religious assembly within the gates of cities: the catholics, because their churches were forcibly withheld from them, their number was every day diminishing, while they beheld the daily increase and triumph of their opponents. This was particularly remarkable in Paris, by the patronage and presence of the prince of Condé. It seemed necessary, therefore, next to order him to depart hence. The king of Navarre issued an order to that effect, and wrote

A. D. 1562. wrote the duke of Guise to meet him in Paris, well attended, that they might forcibly expel the prince. The duke, with his brother the cardinal, two companies of cavalry and a great number of noblemen, with their retinues set out accordingly for Paris, and next day arrived about mid-day at Vassy, a village of Champagne. The protestant writers say, that he went out of his road from Joinville to Paris, in going to Vassy; and that he did so designedly, to execute some vengeance on the Huguenots. Thuanus and Castelnau affirm, that the occasion was accidental: that the duke had no intention to disturb them, or their worship: the former however leaves it doubtful; but all agree that some of the duke's people approaching the door of their meeting, the Huguenots became apprehensive, and on being insulted, were indignant. From cutting words on both sides, they proceeded to heavy blows: the duke, who heard the noise, and interposed personally to separate and appease them, was wounded on the face so much, that he was under the necessity of retiring. By this time, his friends had collected, and seeing the effusion of his blood, they fell on the defenceless Huguenots, and killed sixty of them; many of them were wounded, and among the rest, the minister, who was to have preached to them."

Massacre  
of Vassy.

The massacre of Vassy, such was the name which this unfortunate event received, was exaggerated on both sides. The reformers represented it, as a violation of law and public order,

"Laval, Garnier. Each of the Historians of the times gives a different account of the circumstances of this event.

indeed

indeed as a positive declaration of war; and unless they obtained justice and satisfaction, they considered it as a sufficient vindication of their taking arms to secure to themselves that protection and safety which the government would not or could not afford them. For though this was attended with peculiar circumstances of publicity and atrocity, and was committed under the eye, and by the retinue of the duke of Guise, who was held to be the leader and head of the catholic party: yet there were other outrages of a nature less provoked, and more barbarous, which were about this same time frequently perpetrated in the provinces: the houses of the reformers were wantonly plundered: the women ravished, and other defenceless persons beat and murdered. These things were done chiefly, where the catholics were superior, or where the magistrates were regardless, or unsupported by the government. In some places, as in Xaintonges, Aulnix, Rochelle, &c. where the reformers were superior, or where moderation prevailed, the churches were occupied alternately by them and by the catholics, with great concord and harmony. From these examples there is reason to think, making allowance for imprudent zeal, that the spirit of the former was mild and innocent; that they ought not to be reputed the aggressors; and that if the queen-mother had been more sincere, or if sincere, more resolute in declaring herself, and the king of Navarre more steadfast and vigorous, the reformation in France might have been successful, and almost bloodless: the Guises would have shrunk from the contest: the neutrals with many others would have thrown themselves into the preponderating scale: the clergy

A.D. 1562.

 March,  
1562.

and



A.D. 1562 and their adherents, should have been overawed and intimidated into subjection : The tide thus general, and easily and silently overthrowing every obstruction in its progress, should have in a short time overflowed and occupied the whole kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

Duke enters  
Paris in tri-  
umph.  
20th March  
1564.

The plan of Providence, however, was other-ways ordered : for though the protestants were occasionally successful in the contest, and continued to increase in numbers and strength for many years ; yet from this critical period, when the die might be said to be cast at Vassy, and when the duke of Guise became more active, as the head and leader of the catholic party, his interest on the whole prevailed. He was received into Paris, as in triumph : congratulated publicly by the provost and principal citizens, and distinguished by marks of honour, almost peculiar to royalty. The prince of Condé, on the other hand, was mortified by these attentions to his adversary : and was soon convinced, that Paris could not long contain them both. He had about a thousand attendants well mounted on horseback, and armed : he only wanted money to have augmented these to a great army : and proposed, that the reformers in Paris, amounting to twenty thousand of both sexes, should furnish him with ten thousand crowns : but whether from motives of prudence or avarice, they raised only sixteen hundred. In such circumstances, so small a sum only contributed to ruin them, by giving a commencement to the war : whereas the whole sum

<sup>12</sup> Pasquier tom. 1. liv. 4. Addit. au Castelnau, Laval, Garnier, La Popeliniere, Mémoires de Condé, Beza.

demand

demande might have saved them and the kingdom. But they chose to hazard their lives rather than their money.<sup>13</sup> A.D. 1562.

The prince, at the request of the queen, left Paris, on the condition that the duke of Guise should leave it at the same time. The former went to Meaux, not being permitted to attend the court at Fountainbleau; but the latter received no such prohibition, and went straight to court. There being joined by the king of Navarre, the constable, and the marshal St. André, with each a great retinue, they insisted that it was dangerous for the king and royal family to remain in a place so defenceless, while the prince had so many troops, and might, as there was reason to apprehend he would, come suddenly, and seize the king, in order to place him at the head of the reformers. The queen, who appears at this time to have seriously favoured the latter, would have been glad to have fallen into their hands, and had encouraged the prince to make the attempt to carry off her and her sons.<sup>14</sup> But they were strictly watched, and without an hour's delay they were brought with tears to Paris, where she knew she must be governed by the duke of Guise, and his faction.

Prince of  
Condé  
leaves it.

Hopes to  
seize the  
king.

The prince actually marched towards Fountainbleau, but on finding that the royal family had gone to Paris, he changed his route, threw that city into great consternation, as he passed it,

Being disappointed,  
takes possession of  
Orleans.

<sup>13</sup> Beza liv. 6. Dinotti Hist. Gallica, lib. 2.

<sup>14</sup> See her letters, &c. Laval's Hist. v. 2., Beza, and the Addit. to Castelnau's Memoirs.

**A. D. 1562.** in crossing the Seine, proceeded rapidly to Orleans, and took possession of it, as a central rendezvous and place of arms, for his party. He hesitated, as he approached it, whether he ought to take this fatal step ; to commit this first act of violence, and so commence unavoidably a civil war. But on reflection, he took his resolution, saying, " We have already plunged into the water : we must either drink, or be drowned." The city was soon in his possession ; for it was full of his friends, who were prepared to co-operate with him. And notwithstanding all his caution, and authority, considerable outrages were committed against the catholics.

They were followed by reprisals, at Paris, on the Huguenots. Their preaching was prevented, their ministers banished, their churches demolished. An attempt was made to seize the queen herself, in order to separate her entirely from the king her son, whose councils she was accused of biasing.

Manifestos  
by both  
sides.

Manifestos were published on both sides, and addressed to the different courts of Europe. The prince described in all its horrors the massacre of Vassy ; represented the injustice and tyranny of the violation of the edict of January : the restraints put on the royal family, in bringing them against their will to Paris, and in detaining them there, as prisoners : the injury done to the queen, and the government, by the king of Navarre's interfering with her, in the administration, to whom solely the states-general had confided that important trust ; and the ambitious designs of the house of Guise, who were plainly aiming to obtain entire possession of the government.

The prince solemnly protested, that he had A. D. 1562.  
 been forced to take arms in his own defence : to  
 secure the personal safety, and the political liberty  
 of the king and queen, and the due execution  
 of the edict of January : that as soon as he could  
 obtain these ends, and the dismissal of the  
 Guises and their partisans from the public coun-  
 cils, he would most readily lay down his arms.

The answer or manifesto of the other party  
 issued by the parliament of Paris, was a direct  
 denial of the charges brought by the prince  
 against the court and the Guises : affirming, that  
 the king and his mother enjoyed their full  
 liberty : that the edict of January had been only  
 enacted and published provisionally, till the king  
 should order otherwise : and that it was equally  
 contrary to the interest, and unbecoming the  
 high rank and dignity of the prince, thus to head,  
 and foment a rebellion in the kingdom. The  
 duke of Guise, and the constable also, published  
 their declaration : that they were willing, not  
 only to leave the court, but the kingdom, pro-  
 vided the prince, and other chiefs of his party,  
 would do the same ; having not only laid down  
 their arms, but restored every place and property  
 to their proper owners and governors. These  
 mutual accusations, rather than serious proposals  
 of peace, exasperated the parties : both were  
 desirous to justify themselves, on having recourse  
 to arms, and on engaging in their first acts of  
 hostility.

The Huguenots of every district assembled as  
 soon as they heard of the capture of Orleans by  
 the prince of Condé, and in a few weeks were

A. D. 1562.

Towns in  
possession of  
the Hugue-  
nots;

in possession of Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Angers, Pont de Cé, Baugency, Chalons sur Saone, Mafcon, Rochelle, Rouen, Pont Auderner, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, Bourges, Montauban, Castres, Montpellier, Nismes, Caustelnandari, Pezenas, Beziers, Agen, the Castle of Maguelonne, Aiguesmortes, Oranges, Pierrè, late Mor-nas, Lyons, Grenoble, Montelimar, Romano, Syfterom, Gap, Tournon, Valence.

their force.

Besides the forces which each of these towns and districts required, an army and a magazine were collected at Orleans. The old count of Grammont alone brought with him 6,000 men. Antony de Croy, prince of Porcian, Francis Count of Rochefoucault, Renaud Viscount of Rohan, Gabriel de Lorges, count of Montgomery, and others, each brought his quota of troops, or offered his personal service; so that the Huguenot interest and army soon appeared to be in great strength. The court was astonished and alarmed: negotiation was proposed, while the most active military preparations were carried on.

The chancellor attached to the queen, and directed by her, proposed in council that the Duke of Guise, the constable, and the mareschal of St. André should withdraw from court, in order to encourage the opposite party to listen to terms of accommodation. The consequence was that he was excluded from the king's council, and others more disposed to violent measures, and more determined friends of the Guises, were admitted into it. The government of Paris was committed to the mareschal  
de

de Briffac; the duke of Aumale was sent with a detachment of troops to Normandy; the duke of Montpensier to Touraine; Montluc to Guienne and Gascony; and Cursol to Languedoc: these being the provinces for which the greatest apprehensions were entertained. And, at the same time, an army was assembled near Paris of about 10,000 men, besides several regiments of Swifs, with a large train of artillery. The king of Navarre, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, commanded this army, and under him were the constable and the duke of Guise. They marched towards Orleans, but were opposed four leagues from that city by the prince of Condé, with an equal force, so situated and so entrenched that they could neither pass nor attack him with safety. The mutual awe inspired by this state was favourable for negotiation, and was improved by the queen, who hastened to the camp, and with the concurrence of these generals invited the prince, the admiral, and the cardinal de Chatillon, who, laying aside his clerical robes and character, now called himself the count of Beauvais. They met in a field betwixt the two camps. The prince, in answer to their question, what he would have in order to peace? demanded that the Guises and the constable should leave the kingdom, until the king should have attained his twenty-second year; and that the Huguenots should, every where in cities, as well as in the country, enjoy the free and full exercise of their religion: that they should retain the possession and government of the cities which they now hold: that they should have free access to all public offices under the crown: that the papal legates should be dismissed from France: and that the emperor,

A.D. 1562.

Royal  
forces.

A.D. 1562. the king of Spain, the queen of England, the republic of Venice, and the Swiss cantons, should guarantee the treaty, in so far as the constable and the duke of Guise were concerned.

Negotiation  
fails,

Such demands were heard with indignation, and the parties separated; but on after-reflection the constable and the duke of Guise, thinking they should be held odious if they personally obstructed the peace, that it were better for them to be the first to offer to retire, not doubting that the prince would not fulfil his part of the treaty, or that his friends, by their zeal and imprudence, would soon violate it, and give them an opportunity of returning, agreed to quit the kingdom, and actually left the camp to set off without delay. The prince was informed, and required to execute his part of the agreement, which he had written out, subscribed and given to the queen. He was not a little surprised and confounded: he considered his honour as pledged, but he feared lest he should rashly betray the interest and safety of his friends, and of the reformed church. To strip himself now of all the power with which in a camp he saw himself surrounded: to abandon the society of all his friends, and go into banishment: to dismiss these troops which might not be so easily re-assembled in case of necessity: to render nugatory all the expence, labour, and zeal of the ministers and churches over the country, who had with so much spirit embarked in the common cause: to lose, in a word, all the advantages which he seemed to have gained, appeared extremely hard. In a subsequent conference, however, with the queen, the officers who were with him by concert,

cert, raised a tumult, carried him off, and furnished him with a pretext, that his personal agreement was of no avail, as without the concurrence of his officers it could not be binding, nor be executed. He was hailed by his people, on his return to the camp, with such acclamations, and with so ardent a demand to be led against the enemy, that he consented, and forthwith prepared for the field. Next day both armies quitted their camps, and drew up in one of those vast plains of La Beauce, on which there is not a brook nor a bush to obstruct nor turn the soldier's step. Both sides, however, were equally apprehensive of the issue of a battle. The great part of the Huguenots were raw and undisciplined; the royalists were mostly old soldiers, experienced, and steady: they dreaded the enthusiasm of their opponents; they hoped by delay to exhaust their patience, to render it even necessary for them to disband from a want of money and provisions; and they every day expected reinforcements from the Swiss, and in consequence too of the rupture of the negotiations by the return of the constable and the duke of Guise. After they had stood in battle-array several hours, the prince began to retreat in good order, first to Lorges, then to Baugenci, and losing by desertion a part of his army he threw himself with the remainder into Orleans, leaving the country now open to the royalists, greatly augmented by the arrival of the two chiefs and 6,000 Swiss.

A.D. 1564.

Huguenot  
army dissolved.

Meantime, during the months of July and August, severe edicts were published by the parliament of Paris against image-breakers, ab-



A. D. 1562. sentees from their usual offices or place of residence without a reasonable cause; and all persons whatever who were actually, or were deemed to be, disturbers of the public order and peace. These were both discouraging and exasperating circumstances in the affairs of the Huguenots, which though they might animate some with the greater zeal and rage, damped and broke the spirit of many of them. They were no longer able to shew themselves in front of the enemy; their towns, Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Angers, Bourges, were stormed or surrendered; they had applied already to the Protestant states of Germany, and now it became necessary to solicit also the aid of England.

Spain aids  
the Catho-  
lics.

Elizabeth, queen of England, and Philip, king of Spain, were at this time the rival monarchs, who held in their hands the balance of Europe. Philip was cautious, bigotted, and tyrannical; a most devoted and steady partisan, and patron of the Pope and the catholic church, and a cruel persecutor of those in his own extensive dominions who had or were suspected to have imbibed the protestant doctrines. But now, by declaring himself the head of the catholics against all protestants, he hoped to add to his fame, and to aggrandize his power, already very great in Europe.

The union of Castile and Arragon by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the conquest of Grenada, the expulsion of the Moors, who had long occupied the best provinces of Spain, raised that kingdom, in a short time, to eminence among the nations of Europe. It was enriched  
by

by the acquisition of America, and became formidable under Charles V. by the addition of the Netherlands, and afterwards of Milan. It declined again under Philip II., a prince of great talents, and great industry; but of a bigotted and cruel spirit. Few have shewn more discernment in the choice of able ministers and generals: he spared no expence to obtain intelligence; yet he was not successful, either in policy or war. That grave disposition, and severe temper, which characterised his intercourse and manners, rendered him unamiable, and made him be served from a principle of fear, rather than of love. His religious bigotry and sanguinary spirit, which marked all his schemes and enterprises, undoubtedly contributed to render them abortive. A more mild and liberal policy would either have promoted his success in France, or would have prevented him from interfering with its internal factions and wars. What, but his temper and religion, rendered him so obnoxious in England, on the coasts of which his invincible armada was totally destroyed? The same causes, aggravated in their operation by the tyranny of the duke of Alva, produced a rebellion in the Dutch provinces, which issued in his expulsion, and their independence. The building of the palace of the Escorial, and his encouragement of the arts, give almost no relief to the general severity, intolerance, and odiousness of his character. He delighted in the cruelties of the inquisition; he was suspected of having been accessory to the death of his natural brother, don John of Austria, and probably to the death of his own son, don Carlos. Spain had reached its zenith about the time of his accession, remained stationary for about

A. D. 1562.

**A. D. 1564.** about ten years, during which it forms the principal figure in the history of Europe; but began to decline about the year 1567, when the wars of the Netherlands commenced. The wealth which he drew from America enabled him to maintain both an army and navy, almost equal to all the forces of the other nations of Europe united: for, altogether, they could scarcely have mustered a hundred thousand soldiers, and one hundred and fifty galleys: neither could all of them have together boasted, like him, of a clear revenue in 1569 of twenty-five millions of ducats. His avarice, ambition, and bigotted zeal increased with his power. He was not satisfied with his native dominions, and more recently acquired territories in Italy: he employed all his powers of intrigue, and all that he could spare of treasure and arms, to increase the disorders, to defeat the government, and seize the crown, of France. His profession of religion in that aim, his flattery of the League, and his ardent desire of establishing the tribunal of the inquisition, contributed to frustrate his design.

After various internal changes, England, too, had attained to great eminence among the nations of Europe. Henry VIII., after a reign of uncommon vigour, left his kingdom in prosperity and peace. He had emancipated the church from the dominion of the pope; but attempted no change of catholic doctrine. This was effected during the short and feeble reign of his son Edward VI., one of the most amiable and interesting princes who ever sat on the English throne; but who, from his youth and bad health, was never able to assume into his own hands the reins of government.

ment. His uncle, the duke of Somerset, however, favoured the reformers, and gave them a superiority in the state. His victory over the Scots at Pinkey afforded them a pretext for sending over their young queen to France. The cruel condemnation and execution of lord Seymour, his own brother, was soon after punished by his own condemnation and death; and the duke of Northumberland, by whose artifices the latter was accomplished, in like manner expiated, by premature death, his rashness, in proclaiming the lady Jane Grey queen of England, in opposition to Mary, the lawful heir of the crown. These rapid changes, which weakened the government, did not prevent the progress of the reformation till Mary's accession. Her bigotry, united with her temper, naturally severe, in employing the most sanguinary means for checking the reformation, and for restoring the catholic faith, and the papal dominion. Her zeal was augmented by her impolitic marriage with Philip. But she was sufficiently punished by the loss of Calais, which probably increased her bodily disorders, and issued in her death, after a bloody reign of five years and four months.

A.D. 1562.

As soon as Elizabeth had ascended the throne, the kingdom assumed a new character. The protestants, who had been driven into exile, returned. Energy appeared in all her administration. She magnanimously pardoned her enemies, and opponents. She completed the reformation; but with a prudence and moderation, which not only occasioned no violence, but conciliated the catholics. The puritans, who would have carried matters farther, and with a higher hand, were discon-

A. D. 1562 discontented : while she restrained their zeal, she forbore with their resentment. With becoming dignity, she refused to give up her claim to Calais to Henry II., and to bestow her hand in marriage on Philip. She amused them both, without provoking them to war ; for she knew the value of peace, in its present circumstances, to her kingdom : and, in place of attempting to recover that important fortress, as the key of the continent, by force, she stipulated, that it should be peaceably delivered up to her at the end of eight years. But all her good qualities disappeared in her conduct towards her unhappy rival, Mary queen of Scotland. Instead of shewing her pity and hospitality in her exile, when, driven by her turbulent subjects, she took refuge in her kingdom, she was inflamed with womanly jealousy, treated her as a rebel and enemy, and threw her into prison. There were pretexts, in the conspiracies which Mary countenanced against Elizabeth's government, for some precautions ; but they can never justify her severity towards her unfortunate cousin. In general, however, her strong understanding and temper rendered her a determined and effectual counterpoise to Philip.

England.  
The protestants.

Elizabeth, excepting in matters where sex was concerned, happily possessed a more moderate temper than he, which allowed her the free exercise of a good understanding : her education in the protestant religion enlarged her mind, and gave her an interest beyond her own kingdom, in the state of the persecuted protestants abroad. She was disposed to sympathize with the French Huguenots, as much as Philip was to persecute them

them and to support the catholics. He had furnished the latter with a supply of money and 6000 men: she therefore readily listened to the solicitations of the Huguenot ambassadors, and agreed to supply them with 100,000 crowns and 6000 men; 3000 of which were, in her name, to take possession of Havre de Grace, until Calais could be restored to her.<sup>15</sup> She entered into this treaty with them the more willingly, because she hated the Guises, whom she associated in her mind with Mary queen of Scotland, her rival, as a woman, and her legal successor, as a queen.

A. D. 1564.

This treaty, which revived the spirit of the Huguenots, rendered the catholics indignant, and disgusted even some of the adherents of the prince of Condé. His conduct in bartering Calais to the English, was contrasted with the patriotism and valour of the duke of Guise, who had but lately taken it from them. The latter had expelled them from the kingdom which they had invaded and distracted for centuries before: the former now invited them back, and offered to put them in possession of the key of France.

It changed the seat of war from the neighbourhood of Orleans, the center of the kingdom, to Normandy, and the coast opposite to England; and, in some measure, its nature, from solely domestic or civil, to a foreign war. The royal army, abandoning Orleans, marched to the siege of Rouen, thinking it of importance to prevent the English, if possible, from obtaining any footing on the continent. Rouen had been reckoned

Seat of war  
changed to  
Normandy.<sup>15</sup> Recueil des Traités.

a strong

A.D. 1562.

Rouen  
taken.King of Na-  
varre killed.

a strong place, before the invention of artillery; the Seine, which washes its walls, and a large ditch with which it was encompassed, availed little, when great guns could batter it with so much ease from the neighbouring hills. They did not need, however, to wait even till they had made a breach: understanding that the garrison of the fort St. Catharine usually retired to rest, or engaged in amusement during the day, expecting no attack but in the night-time, the royalists, mounting their scaling ladders in broad day, carried the fort sword in hand, and drove Montgomery, and his garrison, into the city. It could not long withstand the guns of the fort turned against it, as well as those from the other heights; and was taken by storm on a second assault. The carnage and plunder were unavoidably very great: the king of Navarre was wounded mortally; the king, his mother, and the court, who attended the camp, entered by the breach in triumph; and, on seeing the sufferings of the inhabitants, spared them as much as they could, and inflicted punishment on a few only of those whom they considered as the principal rebels.<sup>16</sup>

The

Wonderful  
recovery of  
Fr. Civile.

<sup>16</sup> During this siege, Francis Civile, a gentleman of that neighbourhood, who commanded a company in the garrison, robust and vigorous, was standing on the wall, near the gate of St. Hilary, when wounded about mid-day with a musket ball, which passed through the right cheek-bone into the neck, he fell over into the ditch. The pioneers, who were at work near the spot, never doubting that he was dead, buried him along with another corpse, in the same grave, which, however, they had covered slightly with earth. His servant searched for his body in the evening, and, though he was led to the grave, did not recognize the body, being somewhat dark, and the face being much disfigured with blood.

He

The city of Dieppe surrendered on these terms ; that the inhabitants should not be called to account for the damages done to the Catholic churches ; that all the decrees of the parliament of Rouen published against them should be reversed ; that the English auxiliaries should be allowed time to retire with their necessary provision ; that a stop should be put to all depredations and hostilities within the province, and that they should be allowed the privilege of public religious worship. This last article only was refused, and restricted to liberty of conscience, and private meetings for worship. Caen, and other cities, submitted on similar terms. Havre de Grace remained in the hands of the English.

A. D. 1562.

and Dieppe.

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He abandoned it, therefore, and had gone away, when, looking back, and seeing one of the arms uncovered, he returned to lay it under the earth, and was struck with a diamond ring, which he knew his master was accustomed to wear, and which sparkled with the light of the moon. Confident by this that it was De Cville, he drew him from the grave, and perceiving signs of life, put him on his horse, and carried him to St. Clare. The surgeons affirmed he was dead, and said they were too much occupied with the living, to spend time unreasonably on a corpse. The servant, persisting in his belief that his master was alive, carried him to an inn, and called in other physicians. Finding that his jaw was locked, they wrenched open his teeth, administered some broth to him, and dressed his wounds. In a few days he had begun to recover, when, the city being stormed, he was mercifully taken out of his bed by the enemy, and thrown over the window. Providentially he lighted on a large and soft dunghill, where, after three days, he was discovered by one of his relations still living. He was immediately carried a little way into the country, taken care of, recovered to his wonted health and strength, and lived forty-seven years after. Thuan Hist. lib. 33. Thuanus may be depended on as to his veracity, but is justly suspected of credulity.

D'Ande-



A.D. 1562.

D'Andelot, in the meantime, succeeded in procuring from Germany three thousand three hundred horse, and about four thousand infantry, under the command of the marshal of Hesse, which he conducted, though with some difficulty, to Orleans. The baron de Duras was not so fortunate. In marching 6000 men from Guienne, he was intercepted by the royalists under Mont-luc, and lost more than two thousand of them.

The prince  
marches to  
Paris.  
Nov. 1562.

Having however collected a considerable army, it was resolved that, leaving D'Andelot with the command at Orleans, the prince of Condé should march to Paris with about 15,000 men, 5000 of them cavalry, where they hoped to get possession of that city, and to find abundance both of pay and maintenance for the troops. On the 25th of November he came in sight of the metropolis. He found that his council had been too sanguine, that there was no prospect of success, that Paris was strong, secure, and animated by the presence of the court, and Guises. But he made an attack on the suburb St. Victor, in which he was at first successful, but was soon after driven by the violence of cannon from the streets. He then drew up his army in the field, and challenged the Catholic army to come out and engage him. But they knew that he was not able long to retain his Germans without pay, and that it would be more safe and easy to conquer him by delay than by battle.

Negotiation.

The queen, however, to amuse him, offered to treat with him. She proposed to make him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, in room of his deceased brother, the king of Navarre, on

con-

condition that he would cease to patronise the reformers, and would agree that no Calvinistic minister should be allowed to remain in France. These terms were inadmissible, and hostilities recommenced. The conference however was renewed on the 2d December, by the queen personally, accompanied by the constable and others on the one side, and by the prince attended by the admiral, Genlis, Grammont, and Esternay on the other. The prince demanded liberty of conscience, the free and public exercise of religion, the assembly of a general independent council, within six months, or if that were impracticable, of a national council, with perfect security to every one who should attend it, and freely deliver his opinion. The queen, after submitting these articles to her council, replied, that she consented to either a general or national council; and the mutual restoration of prisoners and property. But that she could not agree to the public exercise of religion in the frontier towns, in Lyons, in the cities which were the seats of the parliaments, nor in any of those where the edict of January had never been acted on. Some farther mutual concessions were afterwards agreed to, and the treaty appeared to be concluded. But, on reflection, the prince observed that the terms were so generally expressed on the part of the queen, that they were liable to misinterpretation in her favour, leaving him, his friends, and especially the foreign troops in a state of insecurity. He proposed a number of explanatory articles therefore, and particularly insisted, that the king should dismiss also all his foreign troops, Germans, Spaniards, and Italians. This demand was

A. D. 1562.

A. D. 1562.

Fails.

deemed derogatory to the king's majesty, and the conference broke off.<sup>17</sup> The prince however retained, or assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, as due to him by hereditary right, being the nearest of blood to the king and his brothers, and annexed that title to his name in the public manifestos which he issued for his vindication on that occasion. He resolved to make another attempt on Paris, but while he prepared for it, the lord of Genlis deserted, and communicated the design to the court: the success of the plan depending much on its secrecy, it was defeated and abandoned. The lands of Genlis were pillaged, and some other disorders committed contrary to the orders of the prince, and chiefly by the Germans. But the army was immediately ordered to march; and retiring towards Normandy, had reached Dreux. They were followed by the royal army, and on the 19th of December, the prince was not a little surprised with the information, on giving orders to advance in his intended route to Normandy, that the enemy were so posted that he could not avoid passing them, and were so near that neither could he venture to retreat. He had not fully eight thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry. The royalists had fourteen thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry. This superiority of cavalry, which might have been of little service on narrow or unequal ground, was of great advantage to the prince on that vast plain where they now drew up the two armies in order of battle. The constable pre-

<sup>17</sup> Thuani Hist. lib. 33. Beza, lib. vi. Castelnau, lib. 4. ch. 3.

fented a front of about fifteen hundred paces, A. D. 1562.  
 betwixt the villages of Epinay and Blainville, Battle of Dreux.  
 which covered his flanks. The right wing,  
 which was to the former of these, was com-  
 manded by the mareschal St. André. The corps  
 de reserve, posted on the left, behind the latter,  
 was commanded by the duke of Guise. The  
 prince of Condé was opposed to the mareschal,  
 and the admiral to the constable. The latter  
 having advanced his wing beyond the village,  
 exposed it to the former. The prince instantly  
 seized this advantage, attacked it with his cavalry  
 which did great execution. The admiral was  
 not less expert and successful on the other wing,  
 where the constable was himself wounded and  
 taken prisoner. But too secure, the prince had  
 allowed his cavalry to pursue the enemy in all  
 directions, not aware that the duke of Guise,  
 with the corps de reserve was still fresh, and  
 alert to make an impression on the unprotected  
 line of infantry. The mareschal turned their  
 wing at the same time, and routed them. The  
 prince on returning, almost alone, for his squa-  
 drons were dispersed over the plain pursuing the  
 enemy, had his horse wounded in the leg with a  
 bullet, on which, being unable to move out of  
 the way, he was surrounded and taken prisoner.  
 Still the admiral having rallied the troops, main-  
 tained the combat against the duke of Guise,  
 and the mareschal St. André. The latter, how-  
 ever, was killed, and the duke now only re-  
 maining to head the remainder of the army, col-  
 lected it together on the field of battle, of which  
 he was master. While under favour of the  
 night, the admiral retreated two leagues off, to  
 Neufville. About two thousand three hundred  
Prince of Condé taken prisoner.  
 perished

A. D. 1562. perished of the Huguenots, and more than four thousand of the royalists.<sup>18</sup>

Sleeps in the  
same bed  
with the  
duke of  
Guise.

The duke of Guise, to whom ultimately the honour of the victory was due, shewed a noble and generous spirit towards the prince his prisoner. He invited him to his table, consoled him with the most favourable and soothing views of his misfortune, offered him his bed, for there was but one, which, as the prince refused it, they agreed both to enjoy, and slept that night together.

Admiral  
Coligny con-  
tinues the  
war.

The admiral next day made a demonstration of giving the duke battle, but the challenge being declined, he marched first to Orleans, where he left the constable his prisoner, in the custody of the princess de Condé, as an hostage for her husband, and then resumed the plan intended before the battle, of invading Normandy, to meet there the succours which were expected from England. He took Caen on the 1st of March, and afterwards Harfleur, Bayeux, St. Lo, and several other places, and generally laid the whole province under contribution. The sums which he thus obtained, and the aid which at the same time he received from England, revived the spirits of his army.

The queen and her council thought it absolutely necessary, that the duke of Guise should march into this province, in order to prevent its absolute subjugation to the Huguenots, or to the English. She flattered herself, that by another

<sup>18</sup> Castelnau, Thuan, .....

victory,

victory, he might totally subdue the one and expel the other. He, on the other hand, was of opinion, that the strength of the party lay in Orleans, and that as long as they retained such a rendezvous, so strong and central a place of union, they could not be subdued, but that deprived of it, their army might soon after be defeated and dispersed. He resolved therefore to besiege it, and hoped in twenty-four hours that he might be able to storm it. He had got possession of the suburbs, and of two towers, which gave him easy access to the intrenchments of the city. He had given orders for the attack next day, and was retiring to his quarters, when he was shot with a pistol by John de Merey, or Poltrot, and died in seven days after. The strong feature in his character was that ambition, which impelled him so uniformly to oppose the princes of the blood, and their friends the Huguenots, in order that under appearance of zeal for the Catholic religion, and by the united power of the Catholics, he might be able to dispossess the queen herself of the regency, and seize himself the administration of the government. This event, which terminated his proud career, and threw the court into great embarrassment, disposed both parties to think of negotiation and peace. A conference took place for this purpose betwixt the queen and the princess of Condé, to which the constable and prince of Condé, though prisoners, were admitted. And after some time and various consultations, it was finally agreed, that the edict of January should be the basis of the treaty: that the Huguenots should enjoy the free exercise of their religion over all the kingdom, and to a certain

A.D. 1562.

Duke of  
Guise assassinated at  
Orleans.

**A.D. 1562.** extent in the cities in their possession ; but that they should not enjoy it publicly within the walls of the cities in the king's possession, and should not any where occupy the Catholic churches. That all the foreign troops should be sent forth out of the kingdom : that the cities taken by the Huguenots should be restored to the king : that all the edicts unfavourable to them, published since the commencement of the war, should be annulled : prisoners on both sides restored ; and a general amnesty proclaimed. This treaty was finally signed at Amboise, and ordered to be registered by all the parliaments of the kingdom, on the 19th March 1563. The parliaments hesitated, but obeyed. The admiral hoped too, that more favourable terms might have been obtained, and was unwilling to relinquish the advantages which he held ; but the prince threatened to abandon the party if he refused, and he reluctantly yielded.<sup>19</sup>

1st peace.  
Treaty of  
Amboise,  
19th March  
1563.

## SECTION II.

**I**N consequence of the treaty of Amboise, the kingdom became generally quiet ; the public attention was almost solely occupied with the siege of Havre de Grace, which the Huguenots had delivered into the hands of the English, and from whom the French government was now anxious to recover it. Queen Elizabeth had declared, that in receiving it from

A. D. 1563.  
Siege of  
Havre de  
Grace.

<sup>19</sup> Id. *ibid.* Beza. D'Aubigné. Castelnau. Davila.

the rebels, she intended to hold it only for the king; but Charles now demanded it in vain. A. D. 1563.  
 She said, that by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, Calais ought to have been restored to her, or an adequate compensation given; and that she would deliver up Havre, on receiving possession of Calais. Force was requisite, if it was to be obtained, and hostilities commenced. Catholics and Huguenots now cordially marched and fought together. But the admiral and his brother D'Andelot did not join them. Havre was forced to capitulate in the end of July 1563. The right which Elisabeth had obtained by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis to Calais, provided she did nothing publicly injurious and hostile to France within the space of eight years, she thus lost by the occupation and forcible detention of this place, now taken from her. And all the subsequent pleas and efforts of England to recover that important key of France were vain. A treaty of peace was concluded betwixt the two kingdoms, the negotiations for which were protracted to a great length, by the English court insisting on the restoration of Calais, but was finally subscribed without any notice at all being taken of it. Peace with England.

From the reduction of Havre de Grace, the king and queen returned with pomp to Rouen. There, on the 15th September, he was declared major; and with much solemnity, in presence of his council, and the parliament of that city, he assumed into his own hands the government of the kingdom. The parliament of Paris was highly offended, because this solemnity was not  
The king being declared major assumes the government,  
 rather



A.D. 1563.

rather conducted by them. But that of Rouen was more obsequious; and as the king had not completed his fourteenth year, wanting about six months of it, the queen was afraid, lest that of Paris, accustomed to oppose and to controul the court, might have opposed the measure, and occasioned a delay unfavourable to her views. She had felt, that during his minority her authority was insufficient, and her administration insecure. On his being declared of age, she knew that the power would be intrusted by him more than ever to her, and without any farther danger of any competitor. It is true the great heads of the opposite factions, the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guise were no more; the prince of Condé seemed reconciled: and the Colignis, she might hope, had become less popular through their rashness and their reluctance to peace. But she had no reason to confide in any of these, and was therefore impatient to possess the government, and to rule without the hazard of a rival.

and continues it with the queen.

Henry the young duke of Guise.

Henry the young duke of Guise, not inferior in talents and ambition to his father, encouraged by his uncles, the duke of Aumale, and the cardinal of Lorraine, boldly aimed at becoming as his father was, the head of the Catholic party. Accompanied by all his family, and a great number of friends, he went in deep mourning to the king, and demanded justice on the murderers of his father. The answer given, that in due time exemplary justice should be done to him, gave such an alarm to the opposite party, that they began again to arm.

But

But their fears were still more excited by the proposed publication, over the kingdom, of the decrees of the council of Trent. That council which had sat with various interruptions since December 1545, now concluded its twenty-fifth and last session. The pope, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, the cardinal of Lorrain, and others, were all zealous to persuade the queen to receive its canons and decrees, and it is probable that she had no aversion to them herself, but she knew that the minds of the people, both in church and state, were variously agitated by them. Many, who were regardless about religion, were of opinion that there were many of these decrees highly unfavourable to the liberties of the church and the sovereignty of the king.<sup>1</sup>

A. D. 1563.

Council of  
Trent.

Nov. 1563.

But the Huguenots, above all, had reason to fear that if the decrees of the council should be enforced by the united power not merely of the Catholic party in France, but of foreign states, they might be entirely subjected, and all their hope of religious liberty extinguished. They judged it necessary, therefore, to use immediate precautions, that they might not be found unprepared against the dangers which they apprehended.

Nor was the general anxiety much alleviated by the ambulatory state of the court at such a crisis. Under the pretext of avoiding the plague, which raged at this time in England, and in some

Design of  
the queen in  
making a  
tour over  
the king-  
dom.

<sup>1</sup> Dupin Eccles. Hist. b. 3. ch. 22. Paul's Hist. of the C. of Trent. Pallavicini Hist. Concil. Trid.

A. D. 1563. of the larger cities of France, and of visiting the kingdom, to amuse the king, to gratify the people, and personally to examine and remedy the disorders complained of in the provinces, the queen proposed a general tour over the kingdom; but her real intention was that she might have an interview, without much trouble and parade, with the queen of Navarre, to persuade her, if possible, to abandon the Huguenots, or at least to carry off her son Henry with her, on pretence of doing him honour by educating him at court, to prevent him, in fact, from being educated as a calvinist at home; and above all, she wanted to meet with the duke of Savoy, and the pope's ambassador unobserved, in order to treat with them personally about the state of religion and of the kingdom. She met with the former at Rouffillon, and assured him of her design to rid the kingdom of the Huguenots without noise or danger, but that she trusted in his aid and co-operation if necessary.

At Avignon she received the bishop of Ferma, the papal vice-legat, and Ludovico Antinon, a special confidant of the pope, privately, but with great solemnity. She satisfied them that the King was resolved to extirpate calvinism, and to enforce the decrees of the council; but that it was necessary to proceed warily, and by stratagem, lest England and Germany should confederate with the Huguenots, and endanger both church and state.

At Bayonne the court was visited by the queen of Spain, accompanied by the duke of Alva and other eminent statesmen. They seemed to be occupied

occupied with mere amusement and pompous entertainments, but were engaged in serious conference and negotiations. They agreed that it was their common interest to unite offensively and defensively against the enemies of the church. There was, indeed, some diversity of opinion as to the means; the duke of Alva proposed to cut off at once the leaders of the Huguenots; the queen preferred first to try milder measures.<sup>2</sup>

A. D. 1563.

A. D. 1566.

Having finished their circuit accordingly, she endeavoured to reconcile the Chatillons, the admiral Coligni's party, and Guises: she persuaded them to meet and embrace one another in presence of the king, but they did it with so much formality and coldness as showed, what proved to be the case, that it could not be permanent. All these pretences and apparent moderation were insufficient to conceal from the Huguenots the plans which were forming against them. The queen of Navarre, who had been persuaded to accompany the court along with her son, was sensible of an affected and great attention which was paid to her, but was not blind at the same time to the pointed neglect, and almost aversion, with which she was occasionally treated, and made her escape more confirmed than ever in her attachment to the Huguenots.

Every thing, at this crisis, became the subject of suspicion and alarm. Even the publication of the edict of Roussillon, ordered, while the court resided in its ambulatory state in that city, for changing the commencement of the

Commencement of the year at 1st January.

<sup>2</sup> Davila's History of the Civil Wars, book 3.

year

A.D. 1566. year from Easter to the first of January was dreaded, and was refused to be registered for about three years. Superstition construed it into an attack on the church, and the spirit of liberty into an act of tyranny.

The provinces, the parliaments, the king's council, was distracted. It was thought necessary to appoint the duke of Anjou, the king's second brother, though but a youth, to be president of the council, and to ordain that nothing respecting religion should ever be the subject of discussion or deliberation in the absence of the king or queen.

The queen persevered in her design to soothe and gain the heads of the opposition. She not only gratified the prince with the government of Picardy, but allowed him the exercise of absolute power in that province, without being subject to the visitation and controul of the marshals.

She prevented the pope from denuding, by violence, the cardinal Chatillon of his hat; for though an avowed Huguenot, he wanted still, however inconsistently, to retain his ecclesiastical character and rank: she tried to flatter and to bribe him by temporal honours and revenues.

Protestant  
embassy.

But nothing is more difficult than to moderate successful ambition, and an untamed spirit of liberty. The Chatillons were distrustful of the court, and the Huguenots could not restrict themselves to the articles of pacification. The protestant princes of Germany, at their solicitation, sent an embassy to the king, to request that all  
restraint

restraint should be removed, and that they might enjoy the most ample religious toleration. The king was not more offended by the subject of this embassy than by the conduct of the ambassadors. They waited on the heads of the opposition before they came to court: they teased him with their long and impertinent harangues; and finally demanded the most unlimited religious liberty for the Huguenots. Not a little irritated, though he spoke respectfully of their respective sovereigns, he answered that they had nothing more to do with the administration of his affairs than he with theirs; nor any right to demand the free exercise of the pulpit for his Huguenots, more than he had the liberty of going publicly to mass for their catholics.

A.D. 1566.

Every circumstance, however trivial, inflaming the minds of those already under the influence of jealousy and resentment, contributed to the awful crisis which approached. The remonstrance of the admiral personally to the king, was construed into sedition: the offer of the prince of Condé to assist the king in the war, with which he seemed to threaten Spain, was held as a presumption that the prince enjoyed more authority over his subjects than their lawful sovereign: the arrival of six thousand Swiss soldiers in the Isle of France, together with the reports industriously circulated of the use which they were intended for, to enforce the observance of the canons of Trent, alarmed the Huguenot leaders. Assembled at Châtillon, they agreed that their danger was imminent, that no time was to be lost, and that it was necessary, in self-defence, to take up arms. Rosay, in the province of Brie, near Monceaux, where the court resided, was appointed to be

A.D. 1567.

Fears and  
schemes of  
the Hugue-  
nots.

the

**A. D. 1567.** the place of rendezvous, on the 27th September; and their avowed aim was not to murder the king and queen, as was afterwards reported, but by getting possession of their persons to usurp the government, or at least to obtain such terms for their party, as might leave them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their civil and religious rights and privileges.<sup>3</sup>

Flight of the  
court.

Their plan, which was conducted at first with wonderful secrecy and success, was, as generally happens, in similar cases, finally divulged at the critical moment, and totally frustrated by hesitation and delay. The court fled to Meaux: and the Swiss soldiers soon assembled for their defence; and conducted them, though not without difficulty, in safety to Paris. The Huguenot army was but a few hours too late; and their force destined for that end was too small: but it was resolved to follow them, to besiege Paris, and to force the people, by the fear of famine, to deliver up the royal family. Orders were issued, on the other hand, to the governors of the provinces, and the officers of the regular troops, to march with all speed for the relief of the king: and in the meantime the Huguenot army was amused with proposals and hopes of a treaty, the most favourable to their views: that the queen should retire from the administration of government: that the king should disband all his own troops, and dismiss the foreigners out of the kingdom: that the Huguenots should enjoy the most unrestrained toleration: that Metz, Calais, and Havre de Grace, should be consigned to them for security: that all taxes should be

<sup>3</sup> Davila, book 4.

abolished : and that a free assembly of the estates of the kingdom should be assembled. It was easy to protract a negotiation on these articles, without concluding any thing : and both sides flattered themselves, that by gaining time, their numbers should increase, and their interest be promoted.

A. D. 1567

The troops levied for both parties, however, in the same provinces, fought together, and impeded each other's progress. The Huguenots on the whole prevailed : they got possession of Orleans, Auxerre, Mâcon, Valence, Nîmes, Dieppe, &c. &c. : their success prevented, or retarded, in most places, the march of the king's forces to Paris, and deluged the country almost every where with blood. The catholics, however, were extremely zealous. They reached the capital at last in great numbers : the king then broke off the treaty, and summoned the prince within 24 hours, to lay down his arms. The latter was at first indignant ; but next day, with the advice of his friends, he only demanded such conditions, as appeared necessary for the security of their lives, religion, and property. These were not granted, and the war continued. The constable led out the royal army, amounting to 16,000 foot, and more than 3000 horse, and resolved to attack the enemy, who were far inferior in numbers, and were drawn up with the town of Saint Deny's in their rear, St. Ouen on the right, and Mui and Genlis on the left. The constable, who commanded, was opposed to the prince of Condé : the duke of Aumale and marechal D'Anville, to the admiral : the duke of Nemours, with a great body of horse, took post

Agitated  
state of the  
kingdom.



A. D. 1567. post in the rear, near the village La Chappelle.

Battle of La  
Chappelle,  
or of St.  
Denys.

The royalists, too confident and impatient, advanced their cavalry with such rapidity to encounter the enemy, as to leave their line of battle far behind. This was instantly observed by the prince, whose cavalry soon charged it in the rear with great slaughter. Various attempts were made by the dukes of Nemours and Aumale to retrieve this error of the constable; and they succeeded so far as to chase the enemy from the field. The constable was mortally wounded, and died next day, in the 80th year of his age. He was a good soldier, but selfish, destitute of warm affections and steady attachment. He was thought favourable on the whole to the principles and aim of the Huguenots, the heads of whom were his near relations; but he disliked the zeal and enthusiasm of many of the party, retained a strong veneration for the forms of the ancient system; but was chiefly afraid lest in demolishing it they might undermine and overthrow also the civil constitution.\* The queen did not regret his death, as it freed her from the restraints, which by his high office and command of the army, he was enabled to impose on her: and in order to maintain her authority unimpaired and absolute, she persuaded the king to give the office of constable to his own brother Henry, duke of Anjou, then only sixteen years of age. This appointment might strengthen her own power; but it disgusted the duke of Aumale and others among the best generals of the army: while, from the want of a head in whom they could confide,

Death of the  
constable  
Montmo-  
rency.

Duke of  
Anjou made  
constable.

\* Id. book 4. Laval, vol. 3. book 5., says that the constable was but 74 years of age.

the

the counsels of those who retained their military command, were disunited and impotent. Being joined by 6000 men sent by the duke of Alva, from the Netherlands, according to treaty, the duke of Anjou marched after the Huguenots, and hoped to overtake them before they were reinforced, especially by the troops which they expected from Germany.<sup>5</sup>

A. D. 1567.

Immediately after the battle of St. Denis, the prince judged it prudent to retire through Champagne towards Lorraine, in order to meet the prince Cassimir, son of the count Palatine of the Rhine, whom he expected with about 11,000 men. He had reached Chalons, when he was unfortunately persuaded by the marchioness of Rotteline, his wife's mother, to halt three days, for the arrival of certain royal commissioners, whom she was authorised to say were appointed to treat with him. They never came; but it enabled the royal army to overtake and attack his rear. He was saved by the want of union and vigour among the royalists, who did not venture a general engagement, and by a forced march he passed the Meuse, and arrived at Pont a Mousson, in Lorraine. No German army appearing, and provisions failing, his men began to despond, and almost resolved to disband. He intreated and persuaded them to remain but two days, which they did in great perplexity, and on the morning of the third, they received intelligence of the arrival of their friends. But this intelligence by no means relieved them from all their disquietude. The prince Cassimir, having been

The prince  
of Condé  
marches to  
meet his  
German  
allies;

<sup>5</sup> Thuanus, lib. 42.

A.D. 1568.

and is joined  
by them.

promised 100,000 crowns on reaching the confines of France, refused to move a step farther. In these circumstances the prince of Condé assembled all his army, and stated plainly his embarrassment; asking them, whether it were better to lose every thing, even their personal liberty and life, or to sacrifice a little to redeem the whole? For his own part he offered all his money and plate, even the rings which he pulled off his fingers: all generously followed his example, officers and privates, even servants and boys; by which means 30,000 crowns were collected, and given to the Germans. They were so far satisfied, that they joined the Huguenots, 11th January, 1568; and after a few days' repose, the whole united army returning into Champagne, pressed forward to renew the siege of Paris.

It was understood in that city, that the royal army had allowed them lately to escape, from some want of union, exertion, or discipline; and therefore the queen resolved to visit the camp, and personally to examine into that affair; and at the same time to assist in serious deliberation about what was now best to be done. While others insisted on giving immediate battle, she represented the dangers which might arise from it; that though the enemy should fall, he would rise again, having little to lose; but if they should be defeated, a revolution might follow: that it was more safe to hang on his rear, to cut off his supplies, and to harass him so incessantly as to fatigue, exhaust, and disunite his army: that plunder, pay, and provisions would soon fail them in this restrained state, and force them to disperse

disperse and vanish; while the king's troops, on the other hand, had abundance of stores and resources, on which they could depend for almost any length of time. Her counsel prevailed, and it was resolved accordingly.

A.D. 1568.

In the mean time every province of the kingdom was agitated by the skirmishings, and deluged with the blood of the contending parties. Languedoc was almost entirely under the government of Monsieur Daffier, leader of the Huguenots; being but feebly opposed by the viscount Joyeuse, leader of the catholics. Mouvais and Montbrun, with nearly equal success, prevailed over the count Sommerive, in Provence. The catholics were more successful, though with hard fighting, in Gascony, Auvergne, and Dauphiné. The duke of Nevers, with some Italian and Swiss troops, overran Burgundy; yet, after all appeared to be subjected and quiet, he was again attacked, and himself severely wounded. In Saintonge, the Huguenots obtained a great advantage by the revolt of Rochelle to their party. It was by natural situation almost inaccessible; afforded a comfortable retreat, and sure protection; it was active in trade, for which it was well situated on the coast; and opened up an easy and safe means of communication with England.<sup>6</sup>

General  
state of the  
country.

When the prince of Condé found that the royalists were determined to avoid an engagement, and that it would be impossible for him, in these circumstances, to keep his army much longer together, he suddenly marched towards

Siege of  
Chartres.<sup>6</sup> Id. Ibid.

A. D. 1568. Chartres, and besieged it, hoping either to find relief in the plunder which so great and wealthy a city might afford him, or to force the royal army to an engagement, by their endeavours to relieve it. The plan was wisely devised, but failed in the execution. For when the queen neither chose to abandon Chartres, nor to venture an engagement, she resorted to those means by which she had often deceived and vanquished the Huguenots: she sent commissioners to treat with them of a peace: and when her terms were rejected by the prince, these commissioners contrived to associate actively with the inferior officers and privates, and even with the Germans, and so to poison their minds with promises and hopes, that they withdrew their confidence from their leaders; longed to return to the peaceful enjoyment of their families: which imagining they might now do on the terms proposed, they became mutinous, and forced the prince to a negotiation and treaty. The prince Cassimir himself was bribed with the assurance of full payment of that sum by the government, which he saw might be very precarious on the part of the Huguenots. The treaty was accordingly signed on the 20th March, 1568, granting the protestants the free exercise of religious faith and worship, according to the treaty of Amboise, and abolishing all edicts prejudicial to their interest: that the prince should be paid partly by them, and partly by the government: and before he passed the frontiers of the kingdom, that the Swiss and Italian troops should be dismissed.<sup>7</sup>

Second  
Peace,  
Treaty of  
Longjumeau.

<sup>7</sup> Id. Ibid. Thuan. lib. 42. Laval.

This

This treaty, however, soon proved to be a mere delusion. The Swiss and Italian troops were not dismissed. The king expected to be refunded, by the prince, the money which he had advanced to prince Cassimir, yet prohibited him from levying it from any of his subjects in France. A plan was formed, and nearly executed with success, for surprising and apprehending the prince of Condé and the admiral; but they made their escape to Rochelle. This served as a new signal for taking up arms, and re-assembling at that city; which the people did the more readily, because they found that they were, notwithstanding the treaty, still restrained and maltreated in the exercises of religion; and many of them also, accustomed now to a military life, soon languished in the indolence and solitude of peace. Among others of eminence who joined them at Rochelle, was the queen of Navarre, with her young son, now fifteen years of age, and a numerous body of both foot and horse. Knowing from frequent and late experience the danger of disunion and separation, without a secure and lasting peace, they here bound themselves solemnly by oath, to persevere till death in the claim and defence of their religious liberty; and never to separate, nor condescend to any agreement, without the unanimous consent of their leaders. By fitting out a fleet of about thirty ships, they scoured the coasts and rivers, and soon collected abundance of money and stores, besides the provision and 100,000 crowns, which they obtained from the queen of England. Their army amounted to about 28,000, and they had again solicited and expected succours from Germany. All Saintonge, and the greater part of

A. D. 1568.

The war renewed.

Huguenot  
army  
28,000.

A.D. 1568. the western provinces, were subject to them. The prince and admiral agreed, while their troops were fresh, ardent, and so numerous, that it were better to go in search of the royal army, and to give them battle, than to hazard any accident or languor by waiting for further reinforcements.

Royal army  
27,000.  
Nov. 1568.

The court was not a little confounded by the intelligence and promptitude of the Huguenots. The chancellor l'Hopital, who was suspected of favouring them with information, was dismissed, and succeeded by Morvilliers, an ecclesiastic of talents and experience, bigotted to the church, and a dependant of the house of Guise. The duke of Anjou was declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom; a manifesto was published, throwing the blame, as usual, on the rebels, and prohibiting the personal as well as public exercise of any other than the catholic religion. An army was assembled of about 27,000 men: they marched with diligence to meet the enemy, whom they found as eager to encounter them, between Chatelraut and Poitiers. Yet, though both were zealous to engage, a succession of mistakes of the roads, of each other's intentions, and other accidents, occasioned by thick fogs, severe frosts, and short days, prevented any actual engagement; and both armies were forced to retire into winter quarters.

The winter was spent on both sides in recruiting for the armies, and in raising supplies. The plate of the churches in the province of Saintonge was sold, and the queen of Navarre's estate was pledged, among other means resorted to by the

Huguenots. They expected a considerable body of troops from Languedoc early in the spring. The royalists hoped to intercept them, and judged it necessary to go and meet them. This brought the two armies again in sight of each other, on the opposite banks of the Charente. After some skirmishing, the duke of Anjou crossed the stream unexpectedly, when part only of the Huguenots under the admiral were prepared to receive them, surprised them into a battle, though soon after joined by the prince, defeated them near Brissac, and, with many other eminent officers, killed the prince of Condé.<sup>8</sup> He was a prince of great mental endowments, but the chief features of his character were unbounded generosity, intrepid boldness, and invariable constancy. With all the dignity becoming a prince of the blood, he knew how to condescend to the meanest of the people, to solace his friends in circumstances of dejection, or to inspire them with courage in the season of action; to fight an enemy with valour, or to sympathise with him in calamity. He is said, by the catholic writers, to have obscured the lustre of his character by heading rebels, fomenting civil wars, and a constant study to ruin the church. But while he claimed only what was due to him, as a prince of the blood, as a member of society, and a moral being, he was unjustly persecuted, and even condemned to death; it was natural for him, on regaining his liberty, whenever he saw the same spirit pur-

A. D. 1569.

Battle of  
Brissac,  
or Jarnac,  
13th March,  
1569.

Prince of  
Condé  
killed.

<sup>8</sup> Thuanus. Davila. Laval. The last-mentioned author agrees with the first, and with Castelnau, in opposition to Davila, in asserting that 400 only, and not 700 Huguenots were killed; there were 200 royalists killed, and a great many gentlemen on both sides.



A. D. 1569. furing, and the same dangers threatening him, to take refuge with those of similar principles, and who were exposed to similar dangers. He always shewed a willingness to live in retirement and peace, till he was urged to attend the court, or roused by a common sense of danger to resort to the camp. The ambition of the Guises, the shuffling policy of the queen, and the general cruelty of the catholic system against the reformers, made it not only his duty to oppose the government as then administered, but rendered it impossible for him with safety to act any other part, than that which with so much honour and steadiness he performed. He was not fully thirty-nine years of age; his body was somewhat deformed and slender, yet never wanted vigour enough, when necessary, for the most active and laborious enterprises. He left four sons; Henry, who succeeded him as prince of Condé; Francis, prince of Conti, who died young; Charles, archbishop of Rouen; and Charles of Bourbon, count of Soissons.

The joy of the catholics on the victory of Brissac was excessive. The king rose at midnight, when the messenger arrived, and went to the cathedral immediately to celebrate it with solemn thanksgiving. Te Deum was ordered to be performed over all the kingdom; couriers were dispatched to notify it to every court of Europe; and at Rome, Venice, and in the Netherlands, public and solemn processions on the occasion shewed the light in which they viewed, not so much the victory itself, but the death of the prince: for they hoped, that though 400 only of the Huguenots were slain, yet that their forces  
were

were dispersed, and had now no head of eminence under which again to rally. But they were deceived: for, though the admiral was neither of such high rank, nor so popular as the deceased prince, yet he possessed great prudence, and abundant zeal for the cause in which he was engaged. He wisely chose a subordinate station for himself, and proposed that the army should swear fidelity to the young king of Navarre, then 15 years of age, and the young prince of Condé, much younger, as heads of the party; and invited the queen of Navarre to the camp, that she might personally present them to the troops. Her speeches, and the sight of these princes, revived the spirits of the soldiers; they loudly applauded the proposal, and solemnly swore submission and fidelity to the princes of Bourbon. The charge of the army, however, of the chief business of the party, and the war, were committed to the admiral: Monsieur Daffier was appointed general of foot. The queen of Navarre, as active as any commissary, went to Rochelle to procure new supplies; the admiral, with the princes, retired to St. Jean d'Angeli; Mr. de Piles, to Saintes; Montgomery and Puviaut, to Angouleme; Genlis, to Loudon; and Daffier to Coignac. With such garrisons, (for each of these officers had a number of troops with him,) these places were likely to hold out long. They were the places which the royalists had determined to take, or to bring on another engagement. Coignac they first attempted; but d'Acierre, with seven thousand foot, and six hundred horse, sallied out on them so frequently and so fiercely, as to shew them they were

A. D. 1569:

The admiral declares the young princes heads of the party.

A. D. 1569. were determined to wipe away their late disgrace, and that nothing but hard blows and bloodshed were to be expected there. In four days, therefore, they raised the siege, and marched to St. Jean d'Angeli, and thence to Limoges, taking some places of inferior name in their way. The admiral thinking it now time, while his men were in spirits, to offer battle rather than remain inactive in quarters, collected his troops, attacked the Italians under Strozzi, defeated them, killed the general and three hundred and fifty of his men, with the loss of one hundred and fifty of his own. On this occasion, the young prince of Navarre shewed a noble courage, and gave proofs of a skill and valour which raised him high in the estimation of his men.

23d June,  
1569.

Germans  
march to  
join the  
Huguenots.

Meantime, Wolfgangus of Bavaria, duke of Deux Ponts, with the aid of the duke of Saxony, the count Palatine of the Rhine, and the queen of England, having raised a body of forces for the Huguenots, mustered them at Hochfeldt, where he halted, till the 15th March, and found them to consist of seven thousand five hundred and ninety-six horse, and six thousand foot well armed, besides near two thousand more troops of horse, which came with the prince of Orange, &c. On the 28th following, they were opposed in their rout to join their allies, at Gilly, near Cisteaux, by the duke of Aumale, which brought on a smart engagement, and an equal loss of about two hundred men each; but the Germans forced their way, and having obtained possession of La Charité, crossed the Loire on the 20th of May. A few days after this, they sustained a great loss in the death of their leader, who, through

through the fatigue and anxiety of so long a march, and perhaps partly from intemperance, was seized with a fever at Escars, which proved fatal, in the forty-third year of his age. The command then fell to Volrade of Mansfield, who succeeded in a junction with the admiral and his army at St. Yrier, on the 23d of June, amounting together to about twenty-five thousand men.<sup>9</sup>

The harvest months were spent by the confederates in taking a few towns in the Limoufin, and in the siege of Poitiers, which, after six weeks, and the loss of three thousand men, was abandoned. In the end of September, a proclamation was issued by the court, offering 50,000 crowns to any one who should deliver up the admiral, dead or alive; besides a free pardon, if the perpetrator had been engaged in the rebellion. Secret means also were employed against him: his own valet was convicted, and confessed that he had attempted, though he failed, to poison him.<sup>10</sup>

He was preserved to unite and defend a little longer an army, which began already to be dispirited and impatient. They understood that the count of Anjou was advancing to give them battle, and that the admiral was disposed rather to wait for reinforcements from Bearn; they almost became mutinous; the Germans threatened to go over to the duke of Anjou; it became necessary to accommodate: the admiral gave out, that he would lead them against the enemy;

<sup>9</sup> Thuan. Hist. lib. 45. Davila, book 4. Castelnau, liv. 7. ch. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Castelnau, liv. 7. ch. 8. Thuan. 45.

but

A. D. 1569. but as he expected the count of Montgomery every hour with troops, he would direct their march in such a manner as might afford him a chance of falling in with them, before they were intercepted by the enemy. He was marching accordingly in several divisions, towards Montcontour, hoping, from wrong intelligence received by his scouts, that the royalists were still far distant, when all of a sudden his rear was attacked by their van. He persisted, however, in his plan of avoiding a general action, which, from the superiority of the enemy, who had twenty-seven thousand men, he foresaw would be ruinous; till his own troops united with the Germans in demanding battle, in which many of the officers joined, under the apprehension of the consequences of what seemed a dejecting and disgraceful retreat or flight. The admiral yielded, therefore, to the general clamour, drew up the army, amounting to eighteen thousand men, in three battalions, and halted to receive the enemy at a place called Grimaudiete, not far from Montcontour. Once more he tried to persuade them to retreat to Hernaut, where they might have more advantages and hope of security; but when he could not prevail, in place of waiting the attack, to encourage his men he ordered them to advance, and to begin the engagement. The sun was two hours high; the artillery and muskets were fired with awful effect on both sides; the shock of the lances was terrible: then, not only horse and foot, but the very servants, sutlers, and pioneers fought with fury. Nor did the general officers spare themselves: the duke of Anjou, rushing into the thickest of the battle, saw the marquis of Baden, and many other gentlemen laid dead at his

Battle of  
Montcon-  
tour.  
Sept. 30th,  
Oct. 1st, 2d,  
and 3d,  
1569.

his side: the admiral had four of his teeth knocked out by the Rhinegrave, whom he shot dead; the blood from the wound in his mouth filled his gorget, yet he ceased not to fight. The number, boldness, and constancy of both sides were nearly equal; but the experience, the tried valour, the deliberate bravery of the Swiss, was conspicuously superior to the more irregular efforts of raw troops: they pierced the line of the Germans, disordered, routed them; of four thousand, they slew them all but two hundred; and then with more ease overthrew, scattered, and slaughtered the other troops. The defeat was complete. The admiral, faintish from the loss of blood and the pain of his jaw, had the presence of mind, however, to take the two young princes, whom he had placed in the rear, under his protection; and, with three hundred horse, and two thousand Germans, escaped to Parthenay. The stragglers fled, some after him, some to Angouleme, and others to Rochelle. Above ten thousand Huguenots and Germans were killed; and more than three thousand were taken prisoners, amongst whom were Monsieur Nque, one of the leaders, and Monsieur Daffier, general of infantry. They lost all their stores, of which there were nine hundred loads of victual, eleven pieces of cannon, and two hundred colours. Four hundred only are said to have fallen of the royalists, among whom, however, were many of rank, as the marquis of Baden, and the elder Rhinegrave."

" Davila, lib. 45. Thuanus, lib. 46. Castelnau, liv. 7. ch. 9, 10.

A. D. 1569.

Fortitude  
of the admi-  
ral revives  
his party.

The court was overjoyed on receiving intelligence of this victory, and hoped that it was almost impossible that the vanquished could ever again shew themselves in military array. Many of them, no doubt, were dejected in the extreme; but the admiral, though scarcely able to speak, with the wound on his jaw, was rather exasperated and hardened, when he considered the certain fate, if they submitted, which awaited him and the other heads of the party, and the abject oppression, to which all desirous of religious liberty must be reduced. He represented their situation as unfortunate, but not desperate; that they had often fallen before, yet rose again more powerful; that their own resources had not failed them; that England and Germany were still friendly and faithful; that the count of Montgomery was at no great distance with a powerful reinforcement; and that they had many eminent and strong cities unshaken in their attachment to them. Were it not better then, he concluded, to bear this unhappy event with patience and fortitude, than to sink under it? better to rise and act with new vigour and unanimity, than to cast themselves into the merciless power of their enemies, who, flushed with victory, would glut themselves with vengeance, and triumph in their misery?

This opinion prevailed, and the necessary steps were taken to inform their English and German allies, and to procure from them new supplies and reinforcements. The garrisons of Rochelle, Angoulême, and St. Jean d'Angély, were strengthened, and the wreck of the army, with

with the princes, retired to the mountains of Languedoc, where they had many friends, and whither the royal army would not attempt to follow them. There they received the long expected troops under the command of the count Montgomery, which, with levies among their friends in that populous country, rendered their army again numerous and respectable; while the king's troops were melting fast away, in the siege of towns, and by the severity of the winter. A.D. 1569.

Next spring the princes began to move again towards Paris. The admiral was sickly, and unable to attend them; but the young king of Navarre, in his absence headed the troops, skirmished often and successfully with the royal army, and contrary to all expectation, shewed that the Huguenots were not only not subdued, but likely to gain ground, and to prove more formidable than ever. The duke of Anjou, on the other hand, was so much indisposed, that the charge of the royal army was committed to the mareschal de Cossé, a man of an inactive and slow temper, and who in his heart was disposed to favour the protestants. There was little doubt entertained that he did allow them advantages under the appearance of caution, which the prince zealously converted to the advantage of their cause. The royal treasury began to fail; thousands of the army had perished, in the siege particularly of St. Jean d'Angely, where alone 4000 were killed. Many of the foreign troops were dismissed or recalled; and on the whole, the court became more despondent than they had almost ever been of their success



A. D. 1570.

Third peace,  
of St. Ger-  
main en  
Laye.

A. D. 1570.

success against the rebels. They resorted, therefore, once more to negotiation, and a treaty of peace was finally concluded at St. Germain en Laye, on the 10th of August. By that treaty a general amnesty was granted. No person was to be disturbed nor challenged on account of his religion; every family was to enjoy the free exercise of religious worship in their own house, and strangers to the number of ten might be admitted to it. Places and districts were described, within which the reformed might convene for the purpose of public worship. All scholars were to be received into the universities and schools without distinction. All persons were declared capable of holding and exercising any dignity, office, or employment; they were to have the privilege of challenging a certain number of judges or counsellors in any civil court, before which they might have a process of law depending. And four cities, Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité, were to remain as a security for the maintenance of the peace, in the possession of the princes, and other heads of the Huguenots, for two years.

The plot  
against the  
Huguenots  
commences.

But this treaty, so favourable to these unfortunate people, was but the commencement of a deep-laid and deadly plot, devised by the queen and a few more of the same temper in the court, kept in view, and gradually unfolded for the space of two years, and finally executed with circumstances of the most ferocious and shocking nature. As soon as the treaty was signed, and published, an appearance of the most forgiving, generous spirit and cordial friendship was assumed, in order to lull the Huguenot princes and lords into

into an unsuspicious and fatal security; to encourage them to frequent the court, and to trust themselves at all times, familiarly and unarmed, among the catholics. The king's sister, Margaret, was offered in marriage to the young prince of Navarre; the admiral was offered the command of an army against the Spanish Netherlands, and invited to court, in order the more conveniently to deliberate on the necessary arrangements. Various other gratifying accommodations were handsomely offered or granted to the party, and individuals of it, for the purpose of quieting every apprehension, and engaging the most perfect confidence. The pope and king of Spain, not being in the secret, became jealous of the attachment of the French king, and seriously remonstrated against these excessive indulgences of the Huguenots. Even the duke of Guise and his family seemed to be neglected and disgraced. The king made it to be understood, that the queen-mother, against whom the Huguenots justly entertained strong prejudices, had in a great measure retired from the government, and that he had taken the administration of it entirely into his own hands.

By all these appearances, the admiral, who had hitherto confined himself to Rochelle, was at last imposed on, and venturing to court, prostrated himself with great sensibility, before that prince whom he had so long opposed, and so often despised. He was received with great demonstrations of esteem and affection by that king who had so recently set a price on his head. He was loaded with valuable gifts; honoured above all preceding admirals, with the right of

A.D. 1572.

precedency before the first marshal of France : every favour which he asked for others, though it had been that moment before denied even to the queen, was granted on his intercession. In this high state of favour, he went, with the king's leave, to Chastillon to settle his family affairs ; after which he was to return to court, to deliberate farther on the conduct of the Spanish war, before he should set out to take the command of the army against the Netherlands.

The plot, which had been almost divulged by Lignerolles, and who was assassinated for his indiscretion, was now ripe for execution. The admiral, trusting to the authority and commission already vested in him as general, had, before he left the court, given orders to surprise Mons, a city in the county of Hainault. This sudden step, which might have actually precipitated the kingdom into a war with Spain, confounded the king for a little, but with wonderful presence of mind, he approved of it, and took even advantage of it, to order troops under Strozzi, to the immediate neighbourhood of Rochelle, as if intended to be there embarked instantly for the seat of war. But in fact, with a view to surprise and secure that city for the king.

The execution of the plot began with the queen of Navarre's death, and by an attempt to assassinate the admiral. She was poisoned, and he was shot, but his arm only was shattered, and he might have recovered. While it seemed of great importance to deprive the party of these their chief leaders, it was not doubted that the violence

violence committed on them, would inflame their friends, and hurry them on to some such acts of resentment, as might justify a general massacre, under the appearance of self-defence. The orderly conduct of the Huguenots, notwithstanding their indignation and apprehension, disappointed their enemies, and delayed the execution of their plan a little. It was scarcely credible, that designs so shocking could be maturing amidst all the festivities attending the marriage of the king of Navarre with the princess Margaret, the king's sister. Employed as a mask to conceal the awful design, it was a high aggravation. The admiral had received warning from his friends at Rochelle that some mischief was hatching, but gave it no credit. After receiving the shot, he would have gladly made his escape; but on pretence of preserving him against his enemies, a strong guard was placed on him, so that he found it impossible to get out of Paris.

A. D. 1572.

Marriage of the king of Navarre with the king's sister Margaret.

On the evening of the 24th August, being Sunday, and the day of the feast of St. Bartholomew, about twilight, the duke of Guise went with orders from the court to Charron, provost of Paris, to provide two thousand men armed, each with a white sleeve on his left arm, and a white cross in his hat, and to direct, that on ringing the bell of the palace clock, the whole windows of the city should be illuminated. The dukes of Montpensier and Nevers, with many other lords of the court, and their friends, all armed, attended the king, besides the usual guards, which were placed in the Louvre, and at the gate. At the hour appointed, the dukes of Guise, Aumale, and Monsieur d'Angoulême,

Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24th Aug. 1572.

A.D. 1572. the king's bastard brother, and grand prior of France, with three hundred soldiers, went to the admiral's house, entered it forcibly, killing the halberdiers, who usually kept the gate, and ascended to his bed-chamber, where he lay still confined in consequence of his late severe wound. Hearing the noise, and his servant, running alarmed, and saying, "My lord, God calls us to himself," he sprang up on his knees, and leaned on the bed. Seeing Besme first, one of the creatures of the duke of Guise, advancing with his drawn sword against him: "Young man," said he, "ought you not to reverence my grey hairs? but do what you will, you can but shorten my life a very little." Instantly the man plunged the sword into his breast; others gratified themselves, in like manner, with stabbing him, and threw his body over the window into the court. Teligny, his son-in-law, Guerchy his lieutenant, and all his friends and servants, found under his roof, were at the same time assassinated.

In the Louvre, and in presence of the king and queen-mother, Colonel d'O having drawn up his guards in the court, the attendants of the Bourbon princes, and other Huguenots were called, one by one, and successively butchered, to the number of two hundred. At the sound of the palace clock, the windows of Paris were lighted, the houses of the Huguenots were broken open, and without any distinction of age, rank, or sex, these unhappy people were massacred, to the number of ten thousand, of whom five hundred were barons, knights, and gentlemen of consideration, many of them  
assembled

assembled on occasion of the king of Navarre's marriage. <sup>A. D. 1572.</sup> The king of Navarre and prince of Condé, who were inconsolable, were assured that all this was necessary in self-defence. That the admiral had often conspired against the court, and the catholics, and would have done it again, if they had not thus prevented it; that they, the young princes were not only preserved alive, by the king's affection for them, but that they should be cherished and honoured highly, if they would only profess the catholic religion. The king of Navarre readily disssembled and complied, but the prince, less accommodating in his natural temper, as well as more firm in his religious and moral principles, having requested liberty of conscience, the king was enraged, and commanded him, in three days, to repent and become a catholic, on pain of death.

Orders had been dispatched to different quarters of the kingdom, to execute the same horrid plan every where, on the same and subsequent days, particularly at Lyons, Thoulouse, and Orleans. In some towns, where the governors favoured the Huguenots, the order was remissly executed; and in Provence, the count of Tende refused to obey it, for which he was afterwards secretly assassinated. The number slain on this awful occasion, amounted altogether to about 40,000 over the kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

What-

<sup>12</sup> The viscount of Ortez, governor of Bayonne, though a catholic, had the spirit to send the following answer to the king, " Sir, I have imparted to the inhabitants of this city, and to the soldiers in garrison, your majesty's commands; I find them all good citizens and brave soldiers,

A. D. 1572.

There can be no doubt that it was perpetrated by order of the king.

Whatever may have been affirmed on the contrary, there can be no doubt that this massacre was with the consent, and by the order of the king, Charles IX. His first dispatches to his ambassadors, at foreign courts, it is true, dissembled, and desired them to notify that the massacre had been perpetrated by the Guises, without his knowledge and consent. But this was contradicted by subsequent dispatches, by the orders sent to the provincial governors and city magistrates, by the Te Deum which he caused to be sung on the 26th, two days after, by his appearance that same day in the parliament, when he not only avowed the massacre, but argued the necessity for it, in order to prevent the conspiracy, which he pretended would have otherwise soon overthrown the kingdom. And by the proclamation which was immediately issued to the same effect, asserting an intended conspiracy, and the necessity of frustrating it.

Sentiments of the different courts of Europe.

The account of it produced different sentiments and effects at the different foreign courts. In Spain, and at Rome, it was received with transports of joy; in Switzerland, and the several protestant courts of Germany, with de-

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“but not one of them who will be an executioner. Therefore they and I most humbly beseech your Majesty to make use of our lives and arms in any thing else possible, however dangerous it may be, for as long as they live they are, Sir, yours, &c.” Laval. vol. iii. b. 5. Davila, b. 5. Thuan. lib. 52, 53. *Mémoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX.* t. 1. The number slain is variously asserted from 30,000 to 100,000.

testation

testation and unfeigned sorrow; in England, with more doubtful expressions of concern: but the queen of England did not see the extent of the conspiracy against protestants; she might tremble for her own safety, and therefore, taking a middle course, judged it best to temporise, till she understood more fully the general opinion of Europe.<sup>13</sup>

A. D. 1572.

The massacre appears to have produced on Charles himself a settled melancholy, and anxiety approaching to derangement.<sup>14</sup> Every thing disturbed and alarmed him; his mother, and those in whom he had confided, became objects of aversion. He was disappointed and perplexed above measure, especially when he found, not only that the late dreadful conspiracy was far from being generally approved, even by catholics; but, that it had not succeeded in extirpating the protestants. Many of them temporised, and accommodated to what they thought imperious necessity; not a few escaped to England, Switzerland, and other protestant states, till better times might encourage them to return; and many took refuge in those towns which were held by the Huguenots, as Rochelle, Sancerre, Montauban, &c.

Effects on the king.

Their possession of these towns, and especially Rochelle, gave great uneasiness to government. Various stratagems were employed to gain or to surprize them. They were offered a garrison to assist in their defence; they were requested to

Siege of Rochelle.

<sup>13</sup> Laval. vol. iii. b. 5. Thuani hist. lib. 53. La Noue.

<sup>14</sup> D'Aubigné, tom. ii. b. 1. ch. 6.



A. D. 1572. { part with a great quantity of their stores for the king's navy; the most unfavourable representations were given them of their friends, and of their cause; and on the other hand, they were tempted with the most flattering views of the royal mercy, and gracious designs towards them. It was all in vain, and appearances of hostile measures warned them timeously to prepare for enduring a siege, which finally commenced in the beginning of December. The duke of Anjou arrived in February with a considerable army of Swiss as well as French, cavalry and infantry, attended by his brother the duke of Alençon, and the princes of Navarre and Condé, to shew that the people of Rochelle could have no expectation from them; and by the dukes of Guise, Aumale, Montpensier, and all the nobility and officers who were either capable of military direction or enterprize, who felt an interest in the siege, or who might add a lustre to it by their names.

The city itself was surrounded on the land side by impassable marshes, excepting one place, along which the road led into it, and which was strongly fortified in the then modern stile, by moats, bulwarks, and ramparts, flanking and defending one another. On the other side the harbour was good, and accessible to those who were well acquainted with it, by almost every wind, yet of difficult navigation to strangers, and extremely dangerous either to ride at anchor or to cruize about, and near, for any length of time, so that the port could not be easily watched, or blockaded by an enemy.

For five months the duke of Anjou made every exertion, which men and money could accomplish,

comply, assaulting, storming, and harassing it, in some mode or other, almost every day, in which service he must have expended immense treasure, and lost about twenty thousand men. But the besieged were no less indefatigable and patient; citizens and soldiers, women as well as men, defended it with admirable constancy and valour; even the desertion of Mr. la Noue, their governor, did not shake their resolution.

A. D. 1573.

He had formerly been governor of Rochelle, had defended Saintonge with much honour against the royal army; had lately assisted in surprising Mons in the Netherlands; had been recommended to the king, and was graciously received by him, and spared in the massacre. He was employed as peculiarly well qualified to treat with the people of Rochelle before the siege; and when he could not prevail with them to listen to the terms, which he was commissioned to propose to them, he was persuaded by them to relinquish the service of the king, and to become their governor. His apology for this change was the hope of serving both parties honourably, and more effectually than if he had left the Rochellers to throw themselves into the hands of some other, perhaps foreign commander, less interested than he in the real welfare of his country.

When the city was reduced almost to extremity, and the council of the city, with his advice and consent, proposed to yield, some ministers whose authority was great, as it always had been from the commencement of the civil wars, over the minds of the people, argued on the other hand, that they were able still to hold out,

A.D. 1573. should be for sometime withdrawn from the court and from all circumstances of temptation, to associate with any of the factions in France : with this view she had paid great attention to a Polish gentleman for some time at Paris, loaded him with presents, and had employed him to use every kind of influence with his countrymen, eloquence, bribery, promises, in order to engage them in the interests of her son, as a candidate for the Polish crown, which was elective. The qualities and fame of the duke of Anjou, represented eloquently, and accompanied with presents, made an impression on the electors, and they chose him to ascend the throne of that kingdom. The archduke of Austria, his rival, had not only great influence from his vicinity, but from the faction of dissidents, including all kinds of protestants, &c. who dreaded the duke of Anjou, as a branch of that court which had with so much virulence persecuted the Huguenots. Such, in general, was the jealousy of the people on this occasion, that they reduced to writing the laws and customs, according to which their former kings were only verbally required to govern the kingdom. In the last of these articles, now written, subscribed by Henry, and recorded, they introduced a clause declaring that if the prince elected king should break any of the engagements into which he had entered with his subjects, and sworn to observe, that they should be, *ipso facto*, free from their allegiance to him. Such a principle, understood among a rude, restless, and ambitious nobility and clergy, contributed to weaken the monarchy and government, already sufficiently limited and weak. It was easy to interpret any neglect or offence into  
a vio-

a violation of engagement, and on that misconception to lay the foundation of insurrection and rebellion. To this additional source of disorder may be traced many of the evils which have distracted that aristocratical, turbulent, and unhappy country. In their divided and anarchical state, they became an easy prey to any invader; to the Tartars, on the one hand, or to the Charleses of Sweden on the other, till at last their country was beheld as an easy conquest, and divided by a treaty of partition among their three powerful neighbours.

A. D. 1573.

The kingdom of Poland ought by no means to have been considered as a desirable object of ambition for a French prince, and especially the heir apparent of the crown of France, accustomed to every delicacy, to luxury almost without restraint, to a polished society, and the most splendid court of Europe. The peasants of Poland, still slaves, *ascripti glebae*, continued in the most abject state of slavery, such as was common in the strictest feudal age. The nobles were rude and ferocious, untutored in letters, regardless of law; and though gaudy and rich sometimes in their dress and equipage, barbarous in their manners. They resembled the haughty lords of the age of Hugh Capet, who would neither accommodate to one another, nor submit to the authority of the sovereign, unless he was able to compel them. The younger branches of every family were dependants and soldiers, and formed a body of cavalry amounting, when embodied, to two hundred thousand; but were incapable, through want of discipline, of acting with union and energy. In these circumstances the king raised  
over

A. D. 1573. over them by their choice, was little more than nominally sovereign. The duke of Anjou soon found that his power was scarcely equal to that of an ordinary police officer of Paris : that he was not able to quell a tumult in the streets of Cracow, under the windows of his palace : and apprehensive of his own safety, that he had to summon his own countrymen to his aid. There were a few regular troops of infantry, but they were foreign mercenaries, the objects of jealousy, and could not always be depended on. There were no garrisons in Poland ; the nobles dreaded them : the very proposal of erecting a fortress would have alarmed their pride, and might have raised a rebellion. The revenue of Poland consisted almost entirely of the royal domain : the less was necessary, as the army and government were of a feudal nature. But though it is a lesson long and difficult to learn, they had better abandoned their privileges as nobles, and submitted to taxes and legal authority, to have enjoyed order, improvement, and security, than to have remained in a state of feudal pride, anarchy, and barbarism.

On Henry's arrival on the Polish frontier, the most splendid and picturesque military spectacle presented itself. Fifteen thousand cavalry, conducted by the nobility, in their gayest and richest attire, lined the road, and covered the eminences as far as the view extended. The music, the glittering arms, the waving standards, the general appearance of the military uniform, all delighted the senses and imagination. Shouts of joy rent the air. Henry transported with the novelty, the beauty, and grandeur of the scene, indulged the

vanity of a recent sovereign, unmixed with any apprehension that he was so soon to relinquish, to steal away like a thief from the capital of this very kingdom, and to be pursued as a criminal, probably by some of those very soldiers and nobles who now so triumphantly hailed his arrival.<sup>16</sup> A. D. 1573.

After the departure of Henry to Poland, the government, which his rank, talents, and energy animated, immediately began to relax and languish. The king, addicted to violent exercises, had injured his constitution and rendered himself incapable of taking almost any share in the administration, much less was he able to watch and correct either the origin of new factions and disorders, or to oppose with vigour the revival and increase of those which had long existed in the kingdom. The queen-mother was always more solicitous to secure her own authority and power, than to study the best interests of the nation. Her power seemed to be augmented by the absence of the duke of Anjou, and the sickness of the king. But she was jealous of the house of Guise; and though it was necessary to share the administration with them, in order that she might receive the support of their party, yet she entertained apprehensions of their immoderate ambition, and kept them in check by the countenance which she occasionally gave to the leaders of the other parties. The Guises were no less suspicious of her, and encouraged or thwarted her, as seemed best to suit their own temper, or their political ends. The house of Montmorency headed a

<sup>16</sup> Commendon, liv. 4. Thuani Hist. lib. 66.

A. D. 1573.

Duke of  
Alençon's  
conspiracy.

body of malcontents, called Politicks, whose great professed aim was a general reform of the state. Francis duke of Alençon, the king's youngest brother, weak, inexperienced, and fickle, but vain and ambitious, had envied his brother Anjou's fame and power, coveted the offices which he held, and not regretting his departure, the disorders of the kingdom, nor the evident decline of the king's health, flattered himself with the hope of succession to the crown. He would not even wait with patience till it might be attainable in the natural order of succession. He placed himself at the head of such malcontents as may be found numerous in almost every kingdom, and especially under a weak administration. He knew the inflammable state of the Huguenots, and laid hold on their prejudices and passions in order to elevate himself to the height of his ambition. It was agreed finally, by the heterogeneous faction which he now compacted and animated, that he should leave the court, and throw himself into the hands and protection of the Huguenots: that the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé should follow him: that troops should be raised, and an army assembled without delay.

The conspiracy, however, was discovered before it was matured, through the rashness of those whose zeal and fear were greater than their prudence and patience. The duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre were detained, and examined by the queen and government; for the king was declining fast and incapable of business. They excused themselves, as is usual in such cases, by throwing the blame on others. They were

were kept in confinement, however, that they might not any farther have the power of hazarding at all, the return and succession of the king of Poland to the crown of France. A. D. 1573.

But their detention did not hinder the Huguenots, whom they had excited to insurrection, from proceeding to the execution of their plans. They hoped, now that the government was so relaxed and feeble, they might at last succeed in emancipating themselves from that religious restraint and oppression under which they had so long groaned. The signal of war being given, troops assembled in almost every province, seized towns, plundered the catholics, and committed many disorders.

The king was naturally very irritable; the accounts which he received of these insurrections and disorders augmented his disease: finding himself grow much worse, and incapable of any business, he committed the administration entirely to the queen-mother. She sent one army to Poitou, under the command of the duke of Montpensier; another to Dauphiné; and a third under Jacques Sieur de Maignon into Normandy. The latter entered immediately on action, and laid siege to St. Lo, hoping to secure the count Montgomery, who commanded there, and was considered as the soul that now animated the party and the war. Knowing the weakness of the place, that it could not hold out many days, he escaped to Damfront, whither he was followed by a part of the army, taken, carried to Paris, condemned as a rebel, and executed. Normandy was soon after almost entirely re-

Progress of  
the Hugue-  
nots.



**A. D. 1573.** covered, though with the loss of many valuable lives; and the death of the king suspended for a little the fury of the war. A spitting of blood and continual fever rapidly exhausted him. When he became sensible that he could not live many days, he declared the duke of Anjou, now king of Poland, his successor, and the queen his mother regent, until his return from that kingdom; and died the 30th May 1574, before he was fully twenty-five years of age, and after a reign of fourteen years.

Death of  
the king,  
30th May,  
1574.

Were any apology to be attempted for his irritability and cruelty, it might be founded on the natural ferocity of his constitution; but especially on the want of proper education, on the examples which he followed, and on the habits which he formed at court under the tuition of his mother, and of the mareschal de Retz his favourite, from whom particularly he derived the habit of incessant and profane swearing. He was rather tall, stooped a little, had a pale visage, an aquiline nose, and inclined his head to one side. There was an expression in his yellow eyes, of a regardless and malignant mind, which almost every writer has remarked; increased considerably after the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day.

Having married Elisabeth of Austria, he left one daughter, Mary Elisabeth by her, who died at 5½ years of age; and by a mistress one bastard son Charles de Valois, who became duke of Angouleme, count of Auvergne and Ponthieu.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> D'avila, b. 5. Addit. to Castelnau, by Labourrur.

## THE REIGN OF HENRY III.

## SECTION I.

**HENRY** was in the 24th year of his age, when he succeeded to the crown of France: a year and three weeks after he had been elected king of Poland. He was giving a ball and entertainment to the princess, daughter of the late king, on the 14th of June, when he first received information of the death of Charles. The report spread like lightning; the senate of Poland apprehensive of the consequences, immediately convened, and hoping to engage Henry in that kind of occupation which might interest him, proposed to him a journey into Lithuania, to treat with the Muscovites. He seemed to listen to the proposal, but his mind was determined to return to France. He was ambitious of holding both kingdoms. He foresaw the objections and difficulties, which would occur to this scheme: he could not hesitate which to prefer, if he must sacrifice one of them; and afraid of being forcibly detained, he resolved to retire secretly to secure the French crown, and trust to future events, his chance of retaining his right also to that of Poland. Finding strong suspicions entertained of his departure, and that the senate was giving orders and placing guards in different stations to prevent him; he made his escape privately after he was supposed to have gone to bed, on the 18th June, 1574, and reached Peisna, in the dominions of the emperor of

A. D. 1574.

Henry in Poland.

Escapes

**A. D. 1574.** Germany, before count Tancin with five hundred horse appointed to pursue was able to overtake him. Afraid of passing through the territory of any of the protestant princes, he went by Vienna, Venice, and Turin, and entered France by the way of Lyons. The throne of Poland remained vacant about a year, and was then supplied by the election of Stephen Battori, prince of Transilvania.

Conduct of  
the queen-  
mother,

The queen-mother, in the mean time, had with great art soothed all the different parties, so as to prevent any dangerous commotion during the interreign in France. She liberated the king of Navarre and the duke of Alençon from their prison; yet placed a guard, as of honour, over them. She flattered the Huguenots and continued to negotiate with them, taking care however to bring nothing definitively to a conclusion. At the same time, she ordered 6,000 Swiss troops to be engaged; and the different detachments of the army quartered in Poitou, Dauphiné, and Languedoc, to be speedily recruited.

of the  
princes,

This appeared to her the more necessary, because, with all her prudence and policy, she could not prevent those precautions on the part of the Huguenots and their leaders which indicated their zeal, their suspicions of her conduct and plans, and their hopes, that during the interreign something might be accomplished more favourable to their party than could be expected after Henry had actually assumed the reins of government. The prince of Condé residing at Straßburgh, prevailed with the protestant princes in Germany to raise new forces, and to place them under his command. The Huguenots in France con-

conferred on him, whose name in that of his fathers they were accustomed to revere, the power of the party, and command of their army. Such was generally the state of public affairs when the queen-mother met Henry, 'September 6th, at Lyons.

A. D. 1574.

After much deliberation, he was very sensible of the difficulties which he had to encounter, betwixt the catholics now in league to maintain their rights and privileges, and the reformed church, not less firmly united and determined to claim and support theirs. He was convinced, in order to reign as he thought becoming a king of France, that it was necessary to subdue entirely both factions. But he wanted a treasury; he wanted able and faithful ministers and officers; for they whom he most esteemed were by some tie or other connected with one or other of the hostile parties. On the other hand he possessed great vigour of mind: he saw no obstacles which he did not think himself able to surmount: and he was animated with a virulent hatred both of the duke of Guise, who was at the head of the league, and of the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, the heads of the reformed. He foresaw that war vigorously prosecuted at present, would be most unfavourable to his interests; and as he could not expect a favourable or safe peace, he concluded that his best plan would be to keep up the name and appearance of war, to stand merely on the defensive against both parties, to allow them no advantage, either against him, or one another, and to wait such opportunities, and advantages, as time should thus almost certainly present to him.

and of the king after his arrival.

A.D. 1574. him. He took the disposal of offices, which had belonged usually to his ministers, entirely into his own hand. He hoped by teaching every man to look towards him only for patronage, and the successful gratification of ambition, to diminish the factious spirit over the kingdom, and to govern men by the most powerful and agreeable motives which their own nature furnish.

His marriage,  
15th Feb.  
1574

He appeared to exercise a similar prudence in his marriage. After the death of Mary of Cleves, to whom he was early and violently attached, he would have next preferred Louisa, daughter of Nicholas count Vaudemont; but declined it because she was niece of the cardinal of Lorraine, lest it might augment the confidence and power of the house of Guise. He rather turned his attention to Elizabeth, sister of the king of Sweden, and had taken some steps in order to demand her in marriage. But the cardinal was carried off in the mean time by a violent fever. His arrogance, ambition, and splendid talents which animated his party, and contributed so much to inspire his family with pride, no longer dreaded by Henry, he thought he might with safety now gratify his first inclination, and married Louisa.

The nuptials afforded him an opportunity of indulging his natural disposition, indolence and every kind of sensual excess. The queen-mother encouraged him, that she might enjoy the more unrestrained power in the administration of the kingdom. Fond of gallantry herself, and destitute of principle, she kept her court constantly full of ladies, whom she easily trained in subserviency

ency to her political designs. They amused the king of Navarre, and the duke of Alençon, softened their captivity, rendered them more patient and less active, in projecting and executing schemes of liberty and ambition. A.D. 1574.

But such amusements were only temporary. Both were naturally active, and the very jealousies created occasionally betwixt them, which marred their union, made them the more solicitous to be freed from their confinement.<sup>1</sup>

For some time the duke was farther amused; first with the hope of being elected to the Polish throne, and afterwards of obtaining the high office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. When he found that the one was occupied by Stephen Battori, and that the other was denied him as too dangerous for the possession of any subject in the present circumstances, he lost all government of his temper: he could no longer bear neglect, and other things which he interpreted as insults: he escaped on horseback; reached the city of Dreux; joined the Huguenots, not from any real attachment to them, but from resentment against the court, and from an unrestrained ambition to reign, even over those whom otherwise he should have accounted rebels. They placed him at the head of their army, and expected the most favourable consequences from such an accession of influence. 1576.  
Escape of the duke of Alençon, September.

The king of Navarre, who had meditated a similar flight, felt all his jealousy moved when he

<sup>1</sup> Mezerai, An. 1575. D'Avila, book 6. Thuanus, lib. 63.

A.D. 1576.

February.

heard of the station which the duke occupied, and which he thought more naturally belonged to him. Sensible that he was really a prisoner at court; that there was no hope of preferment; that he was obnoxious particularly to the queen-mother, and much neglected by all, he resolved also to escape. While hunting, he eluded the vigilance of his guards, crossed the Seine, reached Vendôme, renounced the catholic faith, and joined his protestant friends in Guienne.

The prince of Condé, who had formerly escaped into Germany, and had succeeded in procuring 18,000 Germans, commanded by prince Cassimir, son of the elector Palatine, now also formed a junction with the Huguenot army, augmenting it to 35,000. All these circumstances gave the court such an alarm, that as usual they resorted to negotiation, and took advantage of the jealousy of the rebel leaders, to ratify a treaty of peace.

Fifth peace.  
Treaty of  
Beaulieu,  
27th April,  
1576.

It was the fifth and the most favourable peace which the Huguenots had ever obtained before. A general indemnity was granted; liberty of conscience; the free exercise of religious worship, without the former exceptions and restraints, as to times and places. And equality of privileges was to be allowed them, with the catholics, in public offices, and especially in courts of justice. Eight towns were delivered to the princes as a security for the maintenance of the peace: Berry, Touraine, and the duchy of Anjou, were assigned to the duke of Alençon, with the title of duke of Anjou, as his appanage, with a pension of 100,000 crowns a year. To the prince  
of

of Condé were allotted the government of Picardy, and the city of Peronne, as his security. The prince Casimir received the principality of Chateau Thierry, with a pension of 14,000 crowns, besides 1,200,000 ducats, as the arrears of the German army. To the prince of Orange was restored all those states which he was wont to possess in France. And it was agreed, that an assembly of the states should be convened within six months, to represent the grievances of the kingdom, and deliberate on their remedies.

A.D. 1576.

As soon as the treaty was signed, and the German army disbanded; it appeared that the Huguenots were once more deluded, and their simplicity and peaceableness abused. None almost of the articles of the treaty was fulfilled. The catholics, who were highly enraged at the terms, were somewhat pacified by the non-execution of them; and might have been satisfied, that the whole was a mere political trick to dissolve so formidable an army, and to separate the duke of Alençon from the confederacy of the princes. Yet their former jealousy of the queen-mother was now kindled, and converted into irreligious zeal against the king himself, as well as against the reformed. A league was formed among the catholics: when, or by whom it was originally devised, whether by members of the council of Trent, at that council: by the cardinal of Lorraine, for the aggrandisement of the house of Guise: by the pope, for the security of the church: by the people generally, animated by zeal for the ancient religion of the country,

Commencement of the league.

D'avila, book 6. Mezerai. D'Aubigne. Thuan.

and



A. D. 1576. and by resentment against the reformers : or by all these causes together, it is of no great importance to determine ; the disposition to such a confederacy had shown itself repeatedly during the preceding reign : and some attempts had been made to render it general, not only in France, but over Europe.<sup>3</sup>

It was now revived first in Picardy. There, the catholic nobility, gentry, and commons, bound themselves by a solemn oath, to prevent the prince of Condé from getting possession of the government of that province : and to restore and maintain the holy catholic faith and worship : to punish as the enemies of God any member of the league who might neglect or violate it : to yield a ready obedience to him, who should be chosen or deputed head of the league, whose authority and power were to be absolute. It was pretended, that it was designed for the preservation and support of the king and his government, at the same time that the members vowed the most implicit obedience to an unknown head, it might be the pope, or, as his deputy, the duke of Guise.

It is approved, and supported by the Pope, and king of Spain.

This league, with some varieties, as local and other circumstances required, was circulated and subscribed gradually, in almost every city and county of France : the pope expressed his approbation and concurrence : and the king of Spain declared himself its protector.

<sup>3</sup> Thuani hist. lib. 63. D'avila, book 6. Laval, book 6. Maimbourg, Addit. à l'Hist. de la Ligue. Contin. de Castelnau.

This

This alarming conspiracy, though conducted with all possible secrecy, was discovered and made known to the king. He could scarcely believe the extent and design of it against himself and his government. He pretended to be intimately acquainted with its origin and end : he hoped that it was merely one great faction, aiming to destroy another without any injurious intention against him : that by permitting them to weaken one another, he might actually acquire more power and independence : and that, in the mean time, it seemed more safe for him to fall in with the catholics, who were the stronger party, and without delay to dispel their jealousy and fear of his principles and views, by a general refusal to fulfil the late treaty, which he had ratified with the Huguenots.

A. D. 1576.

It is discovered by the king.

He hoped to accomplish his end more easily and certainly, by the general assembly of the states at Blois, 6th December, 1576. In the speech with which he opened it, he deplored the disorders and calamities of the kingdom ; which had arisen in a great measure from the opposite religious opinions, jealousies, and virulent resentments, of the two great parties of catholics and protestants. Neither the queen-mother, he observed, nor he, had neglected prudent means and exertions to reconcile the contending factions. But all proving hitherto vain, he had resorted to this assembly, that by the advice of his good and faithful subjects, some way might be found to terminate these miseries, to restore general concord, and to maintain tranquillity and peace. After the chancellor Birague had also spoken, nearly to the same purpose, it soon appeared that the assembly was packed

Assembly at Blois.

A. D. 1576. packed by the partisans of the duke of Guise : and that though they seemed disposed to unite with the king in his general aim, yet they were jealous of his coalescing with the Huguenots, or at least accommodating too much to them. Therefore they proposed a measure, which not only indicated a temper opposite to general accommodation, but dangerous to royal power : that for the dispatch of business, a commission should be granted to certain judges, who with twelve of the deputies of the assembly, should have absolute power to hear and determine irrevocably every subject which might be submitted to the assembly. This design being perceived, and frustrated by the king, it was next moved, that there should be no other religion but the catholic permitted in the kingdom ; and that all ranks should be obliged to conform to it : the latter part of this proposal was modified so far, in the hope of avoiding a renewal of the war ; and the king evaded it altogether by proposing a delay, till a trial should be made of the disposition of the Huguenot leaders, whether they would acquiesce in the terms proposed. Commissioners were accordingly dispatched to them. But they found them not only dissatisfied with the proposals made to them, but resolved to disclaim the assembly who made them, as composed of a faction merely, and not of members freely elected from all parties and all quarters. On the return of the commissioners, therefore, with this answer, the assembly became violent : the king saw that he could not restrain nor moderate them, and to prevent them from levying war in their own name, he professed a cordial junction with them : made the league which had been lately framed over the kingdom be read and sworn to in the assembly,

assembly, and declared himself the head and protector of it, until he should have reduced all the subjects of his kingdom, to the unity of the catholic faith. He intimated to the assembly, however, that he could neither commence nor carry on a war without money, and expressed his hope, that they would furnish him with sufficient supplies for the great exertions which were necessary. This they declined, and left him therefore at liberty to prosecute the war at all, or with vigour, as he chose. He was glad to dismiss the assembly; and at the same time did not chuse to hazard his crown, by acting totally in opposition to the spirit which they had so strongly expressed; he resolved therefore to make war, but to conduct it in such a manner as, to save appearances, to favour the catholics without greatly annoying the protestants.

A. D. 1578.

ineffectual.

In the month of April, A. D. 1577, he began his military operations with one army, under the duke of Alençon, on the Loire: with another under the duke of Mayenne, in Saintonge: and with a fleet commanded by M. de Lansac, off Rochelle. These all were more active than the king himself either required or expected: the Huguenots were unprepared: several of their towns and two of their best ships were taken: they were soon forced to sue for peace: and as the royal treasury, the great spring of military action was exhausted, the king was no less desirous to grant it. It was less favourable than the last had been; but still more favourable, all things considered, than there was reason to expect. It permitted the exercise of the reformed religion in the houses of gentlemen, having

The war renewed, March, 1577.

A. D. 1577. having (*haute justice*) the right of civil and criminal jurisdiction within their own domains, with free and general access to every one without exception: in the houses of private gentlemen, seven only were to be allowed permission to attend: one place of worship was to be licensed in every bailiwick, except in Paris and its vicinity; and except in the court, wherever it might be resident, and its vicinity: it restored the privileges of which the catholics had in many places been deprived: eight strong cities were still reserved as a security to the Huguenots for six years, viz. Montpellier, Aiguemorte in Languedoc, Myon and Serres in Dauphiné, Seine in Provence, Perigueux, La Reolle, and le Mas de Verdun, in Guienne, besides Rochelle, and some other towns which they retained in Saintonge.\*

Sixth peace,  
Sept. 1577,  
at Poitiers.

## SECTION II.

Dissipation  
of the court.

THE treaty of peace concluded at Poitiers, though occasionally violated, lasted two years. Both parties were exhausted, and scarcely able, however willing, to have renewed the contest. The king, who had no idea of œconomy, squandered in private pleasures and on vicious favourites the revenues of the state. His own dissipation, the luxury and licentiousness of the queen-mother, and the almost open profligacy of her daughter, the queen of Navarre, who remained with her, rendered the court a scene

\* Davila, book 6. D'Aubigne, lib. 4. Thuan. lib. 64. Laval, book 6.

of rioting, vice, and the most scandalous and criminal excesses. These extravagant and indecorous occupations of the court were even aggravated and rendered more striking by their intermixture with Henry's no less extravagant superstition and devotion. He associated with friars, he delighted in processions, he was an enthusiastic admirer of religious pomp and ceremony, and lavished on these also the finances, which might have been better employed in counteracting the designs and subduing the power of the league.

D.A. 1577.

Some lucid intervals occurred in this madness. The duke of Savoy, to whom he had with a thoughtless liberality, on his return from Poland, delivered up Pignerol, Savillan, and the valley of Perouse, now requited this generosity by entering into a treaty with Philip II., in order to the conquest and partition of Geneva and Switzerland. Nothing could have proved more injurious and dangerous to France. Henry listened, therefore, to the representations of these states, and took Geneva as well as Switzerland under his protection.

The king of Spain, his most inveterate enemy, he knew was most vulnerable in the Netherlands. There, the prince of Parma, successor to Don John of Austria, by his wisdom and conduct both in the cabinet and field, had, as governor and commander-in-chief, recovered several of the provinces, and in a great measure conciliated the affection of the people. He might have again subjected the whole provinces to Spain, if the ambition of Philip to obtain the

<sup>1</sup> Id. Ibid. Mezerai. D'Aubigne.

A.D. 1577. crown of Portugal, had not diverted from him the necessary supplies.

This crisis was urged by the prince of Orange as most favourable for concluding a definitive treaty with France, by which the sovereignty of five of the chief states of the Netherlands, with the cities of Antwerp and Mechlin was conferred on the duke of Anjou and his heirs, as an annexation to the kingdom of France, but with the reservation of their independence, immunities, and privileges. In order to accomplish the design of this treaty, the duke was allowed to levy troops in every province of France, and though his finances were inconsiderable, a military spirit, prevalent over the kingdom, without any other field at that time of signalising it, furnished him with ten thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, with which he marched hastily against the enemy, and raised the siege of

Aug. 1581.

Cambray. But this was all that he was able to accomplish. His cautious adversary avoided him; his troops receiving no pay and little plunder, and much indignation from those whom they did plunder. After some successful actions the half of them deserted him. It became necessary to retreat before a leader so skilful, and a force so superior. He led his army therefore towards the French frontiers, and passed himself over to England to urge his suit with the sovereign of that country.

The duke of  
Anjou visits  
England,

As a sovereign, Elisabeth had conducted herself uniformly with great prudence and dignity.

<sup>6</sup> Mezerai, An. 1581. Strada, tom. 3. Thuan. lib. 65.

She had maintained with firmness the principles and privileges of the reformed church of England against the catholics, on the one hand; and though perhaps with more than necessary severity against the puritans, on the other. Female jealousy had unduly inflamed her political indignation and resentment against her unfortunate cousin, Mary queen of Scotland. Her favour and patronage, however, encouraged the protestants in Scotland so effectually, as finally to secure to them that ecclesiastical system and establishment, for which they so long and bravely struggled. She beheld with much interest the bloody contest in the Netherlands, betwixt Philip king of Spain, and his subjects in that country; sincerely wishing them success, yet afraid to provoke that powerful and vindictive monarch to turn his arms against her subjects, whom she cherished as her children in the enjoyment of peace. She carried this peaceful disposition so far, that she actually refused the offer of the sovereignty of the Netherlands, rather than hazard the dangers to which she might be exposed in emancipating them from the dominion of Spain, and afterwards protecting them against its power. But both in gratitude for this offer, and in consequence of the general favour which she was disposed to show the protestants in opposition to the catholics, she sometimes privately, and at other times more publicly, sent them both money and troops for their assistance. For the same reason, she flattered the duke of Anjou with the hope that he might be the more successful in his addresses to her, if he should prosper in the enterprize in which his brother

A. D. 1581.

is flattered  
with the  
hope of marriage  
with the queen;



**A. D. 1580.** Henry king of France had ventured to patronise him against the power of Spain in the Netherlands. After he joined the army in the Netherlands, she sent him a hundred thousand crowns in a present, which enabled him to prosecute the war with much vigour and success. Having acquired celebrity by obliging the prince of Parma to raise the siege of Cambray, being chosen governor of the states, and having now returned with sanguine hopes to renew his suit personally in England, Elizabeth encouraged him so far, that, on the anniversary of her coronation, she publicly took a ring from her own finger and put it on his; yet ambition and prudence triumphed over love. She was sensible of the aversion of many of her best subjects to the marriage; she was apprehensive of the danger which the protestant interest, her own people, and her own love of dominion, might be involved by this marriage relation. After a painful struggle, betwixt inclination and duty, or if female affection ought to be excluded, betwixt one political plan and another, the increase and communication of power, and the sole possession of merely what she had, she decided in favour of the latter, and having sent for the duke, intimated to him her final decision. Indignation, disgust, resentment, every passion agitated him with violence; he threw away her ring with many imprecations, and returned to his government in the Netherlands.

17th Nov.  
1580.

but is finally  
disappointed.

Cambden, Mem. de la Reine Margaret. Mathieu.  
Hume. Thuan. lib. 66.

The

The prince of Parma, the Spanish general's army there, amounted to sixty thousand foot and four thousand horse; but thirty thousand of these being employed in garrisons, he had only thirty-four thousand which he could lead actively into the field. All the solicitations of the duke of Anjou with his brother, were ineffectual to induce him to augment the small army which he had sent him, of seven thousand men. With this army, supported by the militia of the country, he might have harassed the prince, if he was not able to expel him. But infatuated by the love of absolute power, without attempting either of these, he proposed with this handful of men to expel the garrisons of the towns which held them for the states, and to take possession of them in his own name, to be subject solely to his sovereignty. He seized Dunkirk accordingly, Dixmude, Dendremonde, &c., and hoped in like manner to take Antwerp. But there his design was suspected, and his artifice failed. Fifteen hundred of his men were killed, and two thousand taken prisoners. His character and hopes in that country were blasted, the people were filled with indignation, and though an apparent reconciliation was effected by the prudent and disinterested mediation of William prince of Orange; yet it was impossible to restore confidence and cordial co-operation. These circumstances, the diminished state of his army, and the total want of funds, as well as the decline of his health, rendered his return into France absolutely necessary. Fresh resources and a new army might have been entrusted to him by his brother, more desirous to be rid of

A. D. 1580.

His transactions in the Netherlands.

A. D. 1584. him than anxious for his success, but after languishing sometime, he died 10th June 1584.<sup>\*</sup>  
 His death.

His death produced considerable changes on the sentiments and state of the different parties in France. Next after his brother, who seemed to have no hope of heirs of his own body, he was the undisputed hereditary successor to the crown, and being a catholic, there could be no objections to him in respect of either religion or legal right. He served, therefore, as a barrier against any immediate or direct claim or attempt, by either the king of Navarre or the league. By his death this barrier was removed, the throne was exposed, as bare and unprotected, the king was alarmed more than he had previously apprehended. Regarding with anxiety and awe the insidious and formidable plans of the league, he became impatient to detach the king of Navarre from his heretical opinions and friends, and to secure his immediate friendship and future succession, as next legal heir of the crown. He gave commission and authority to the duke of Epemon to hasten to him, in Gascony, and to offer him this succession, on condition that he renounced the Calvinistic faith, and instantly returned to court.

The king of Navarre declines to abandon his party.

The temptation was very strong: it seemed to be the call of Providence, to occupy the right, the honour, and power transmitted to him by his fathers. It was the highest honour, and the greatest power which he could ever expect to enjoy on earth. It appeared secure in the

<sup>\*</sup> Thuan. Strada.

way proposed: it was not probable, that the league should ever be able effectually to resist his power, united with that of the legal government; and he might be able to continue to attach to him the services of his party, by the hopes which he should secretly convey to them of their future protection and prosperity. But, on the other hand, he had warm and steady affections: they revolted from the idea of even apparently abandoning his friends: he would not violate those religious principles, which take deep root in a tender heart, guided by a sound judgment: he still trembled, when he reflected on that court, stained by the blood of so many of his friends, so long the place of his own confinement and anxiety, so unprincipled, so faithless, so fickle, and weak: he was not so much afraid of the league, or of any obstacles arising to obstruct his accession, when the throne should become vacant; and resolved, therefore, to abide by the will of God, as it might be unfolded in the ordinary course of events. At the same time he accompanied his refusal with the strongest expressions of gratitude and friendship, and with the offer of all the forces of his party in support of the king and his government.<sup>9</sup>

A.D. 1584.

In consequence of the invasion and seizure of the territory of Navarre by Ferdinand the catholic, Henry, still commonly called king of Navarre, enjoyed little more of his patrimonial dominions than the principality of Bearn. The

<sup>9</sup> Perefixe, Hist. du Roi Henry, p. 64. edit. Amsterdam, 1661. Castelnau. Davila, book 7.

**A.D. 1584.** duchy of Albret, and Vendome, were subsequent maternal additions. The government of the Agenois and Quercy, he received with his queen, Margaret of Valois. Being actually sovereign of these estates, however, his royal title was not merely nominal, or given him by courtesy; but the revenue which he derived from all these did not exceed 140,000 livres, or about 6000*l.* sterling.

Such a revenue was insufficient, even for any great domestic establishment. It was by no means equal to the levy and maintenance of an army. When he came to Paris, after his mother's death, and before his marriage, he was attended by eight hundred noblemen and gentlemen; but they generally maintained themselves, accounting it a sufficient honour to be allowed to appear in his train. Hence, he was never able to retain an army together longer than the time set, to which the provisions or money which they brought with them extended, unless they obtained a fresh supply by contributions from their friends, or by plunder from the enemy.\*

The chief seat of his court was Pau, in Bearn; but more frequently Nerac, in the duchy of Albret. After his marriage, it was gay and voluptuous. Animated by Margaret of Valois, one of the most lively and licentious women of the age, it scarcely yielded, she says herself, to that of France. She and her husband went, on sabbath days, to different places of worship, she to mass, and he to a protestant church; but they met in one place, in the evening, for dancing and

\* Castelnau, Labour. t. 2. Vie du Plessis Mornay.

amusement. Such are the inconsistencies of human nature, even in characters which history holds up to the admiration of posterity. We deplore it in Henry: what better was to be expected in Margaret? She became dissipated and dissolute in the extreme, was disowned both by her husband and the French court, and fell deservedly into neglect and contempt.<sup>11</sup> A. D. 1584.

The death of the duke of Anjou inspired the chiefs of the league with new ambition, as it raised their hope of seizing the crown. The correspondence betwixt the two Henries soon reached their ears, and moved their fiercest resentment. They pretended to believe, and industriously reported, not the fact that the king of France had intreated the king of Navarre to become a catholic, on which terms only he would negotiate and unite with him, but that the former had proposed to establish the reformed religion; and to secure the succession, after his own demise, to the king of Navarre, as head of the protestant church. The league, therefore, was renewed with great solemnity and zeal. The king of Spain declared himself its head and protector; and the cardinal of Bourbon, third brother of the late king of Navarre, a bigotted catholic, was easily persuaded by the duke of Guise and his friends to allow himself to be declared next heir to the crown of France, in preference to his heretical nephew, the present king of Navarre. A treaty was accordingly ratified betwixt the king of Spain, and the cardinal and his friends, declaring the cardinal next heir to the crown of

Solemn re-  
vival of the  
league.

Jan. 1585.

<sup>11</sup> Vie de Marg. de-Valois.

A. D. 1585.

France, and excluding from it all heretics forever; that, even during the life of the present king, to prevent the Huguenot party from succeeding in their schemes, the confederates in this league should raise armies, make war against them, and do every thing necessary to secure the end of their confederacy; that the cardinal of Bourbon, on his accession, should confirm this treaty, and observe it punctually, and cause the decrees of the council of Trent to be observed in the kingdom; that he should renounce all friendship with the Turks; that he should give no disturbance to the navigation and commerce of Spain; that he should restore all that had been taken from his catholic Majesty in the Netherlands, and particularly the city of Cambray and its jurisdiction; and assist him in reducing to obedience his rebellious subjects in that country. On the other hand, that Philip, the king of Spain should contribute 50,000 crowns a month towards the maintenance of the league, with a suitable proportion of troops; that he should take the members, and especially the heads of it, the cardinal of Bourbon, the duke of Guise, and his two brothers, &c. under his protection; that no treaty should be made with the king of France, without the consent of both Spain and the heads of the league; and that this treaty should be kept secret.<sup>12</sup>

Division and  
weakness of  
the court.

The last article was nugatory, since it was necessary to the success of the scheme, that it should be communicated speedily and universally. It was soon known at court, and excited a ge-

<sup>12</sup> Davila, b. 7.

neral alarm. But diversity of opinion produced no effect on the feeble mind of Henry, but hesitation. The duke of Epernon still urged his junction with the Huguenots, as the most effectual mode of instantly crushing this embryo before it acquired more form and strength. The queen mother, supported by the duke of Joyeuse and others, insisted that this would be not only a dereliction of principle, which merited disappointment and Divine punishment; but, independent of that consideration, it would be inexpedient and dangerous; that the Huguenots were comparatively few, poor, and of little weight in the kingdom; they could bring him little assistance, while his union with them would totally alienate and exasperate the catholics, by far the most numerous and powerful body; that it were better, by a well-timed policy, to accommodate to the humours, and gratify, as far as might be done prudently, even the ambition of the malcontents; that were they somewhat replaced in the royal favour, and in eminent stations of government, their zeal for religion and the league should dissolve. But the king, who had been for years studying to humble the Guises, and to displace them from offices of authority and power, could not bring his mind to abandon all his scheme, and to restore these men to situations which should aggrandize and gratify them, but should reduce him to the state of a cypher. He suspected the queen-mother's partiality to the house of Lorraine, through her daughter Claudia, married to the duke of that name, and her preference of the Guises to the king of Navarre; he, on the other hand, esteemed that king, if he could

A. D. 1585.



A.D. 1585. could have separated him from his religious opinions; and he hated and dreaded the Guises.

He was more influenced by her counsel with respect to the Netherlands. The prince of Orange, the spirit which united and animated the States, was assassinated. The prince of Parma was successful in almost every attempt which he made. In the low state to which their affairs were reduced, the provinces resorted again to France, and offered Henry the sovereignty of them on certain conditions, if he would protect them, and emancipate them from the yoke of Spain. The offer of a country so rich and commercial was alluring: to have accepted it, and accomplished the intention, would have inflicted the deepest wound on the pride and power of Spain; and, by a well-timed blow in the Netherlands, destroyed the monster which threatened France. But Catharine foresaw that this change of the seat of war should be unfavourable to her influence: she advised that the offer should be declined; and her opinion was adopted.

The Spanish ambassador in the meantime, urged the heads of the league to fulfil their engagement with Spain; they published every where and even from the pulpit, that a reconciliation was agitated between the king and the Huguenots, and was therefore a reasonable ground of alarm, and signal for actual hostilities.

*Manifesto of  
the league.*

The cardinal of Bourbon left the court, on pretence of keeping Lent at the seat of his bishoprick

rick of Rouen, and being met by many of the nobility and gentry at Gallion, was conducted by them for greater security to Peronne. There they published a manifesto, representing the king as deeply engaged in the design of overthrowing the holy catholic church and faith : as engrossed by favourites, on whom he conferred every valuable office and dignity : as loading the poor with unreasonable taxes for their gratification : and as uniting with the Huguenots, against the true interest of both church and state : therefore, declaring, that they had sworn and engaged to take up arms to restore the dignity and order of religion, and of the church : to secure and maintain the honour and freedom of the nobility : to relieve the people from unreasonable impositions : to preserve and promote the great ends of justice and government : to sustain his present majesty in the throne of his fathers : to make such provision, in case of his death, without legal heirs of his own body, that the subjects might not be divided into factions, and drawn into bloody civil wars about his successor : and finally, not to lay down their arms, until they should accomplish these ends.<sup>13</sup>

A. D. 1585.

This declaration they soon confirmed by acts. Having assembled an army of 12,000 men, they took possession by treachery and force of Verdun and Thoul : and made similar but unsuccessful attempts on Metz, Marfeilles, and Bourdeaux. Lyons, Bourges, Orleans, Angers, Mezieres, and Chalons revolted to them : at the last of which towns they waited for a considerable force, with

<sup>13</sup> Davila's Hist. b. 7.

a large

A. D. 1585. a large sum of money from the king of Spain, which they understood was advancing on the confines of Lorrain for their aid.

Of the king. Nor was the king silent, or inactive in his own defence. He published a manifesto, in answer to the declaration of the catholic league; declaring, that there was no reasonable and good cause for that league: that their zeal for the catholic religion was a mere pretence, that it could be in no danger under his patronage and protection; he being himself animated by its spirit, and determined by every principle and consideration, personal and political, as much as they could be; to preserve and maintain it: that the concessions which he had made to the Huguenots ought by no means to be construed into any dereliction of either the catholic faith or church; but a trial, if it were possible, by some prudent accommodation, to reconcile and unite his subjects, and give strength and prosperity to his kingdom: that much good had accordingly arisen from the peace made with the Huguenots; the nobles were enabled by it to live in quiet and security; the clergy were restored to their benefices, and were freed already from many heavy impositions and taxes: that order had been re-established in the courts of justice over the kingdom: that the queen and he were yet vigorous, and in the flower of their age; and therefore, there was no necessity nor propriety in providing and securing a successor to them in the throne: they might live long themselves to enjoy it, and might be blessed by Providence with issue of their own body to succeed them: that the complaint was unreasonable, that he had displaced deserving men,

men, and exalted the undeserving around the throne; in this respect he had acted according to his best judgment: that it would require a very tedious and minute discussion, to compare the merits of one nobleman and officer with those of another; but that he had uniformly intended to honour and promote able and worthy men for his own sake, and the good of the state, as well as for their honour and encouragement: in exercising this privilege, he had done nothing more than had been always done by all his predecessors, and than was allowed universally to be the prerogative of kings: that if they would lay down their arms, dismiss their foreign troops, and return to their duty, he would not only pardon them, but treat them without distinction; and according to their rank, as his friends, and as the other princes, nobles, and officers of his kingdom.

At the same time the king was active in levying and hiring troops, and in studying to reconcile and attach his people to him. Some of those, as the duke of Nevers, who had joined the league, returned; but there was a general hesitation and timidity which damped and restrained the royalists. The ten thousand Swiss, whom the king had engaged and expected, had consented to act only on the defensive; and as the duke of Guise had also obtained 6,000 Swiss, there was reason to apprehend that they were not to be depended on: even though they might be trusted after their arrival, how was their junction to be effected? for the army of the league,

" Id. ibid.

was

**A. D. 1585.** was betwixt them and Paris, determined to intercept their march, and next to turn their whole forces against the capital, and so to deprive the king of every refuge.

Artifices  
employed to  
detach the  
cardinal  
from the  
league.

The queen-mother, who had often experienced the advantage of temporising and delay, advised the king to have recourse to negotiation. The cardinal of Bourbon was accordingly sounded, and secretly wrought on by all the arts and persuasion of which she and the agents whom she employed were capable. He was entreated to observe his real situation and conduct, that he was not the head of the league, but the tool of the duke of Guise: that he had not the concurrence and support of the pope: that it was vain to pretend that he or the duke of Guise could be more zealous for the church than the king was: that it was unnatural for him to oppose the right of his own nephews to the crown: and that it would be more reasonable were he to show his zeal as a minister of religion, in endeavouring, by courteous instruction and persuasion, to convert them from their errors, and to gain them to the church.

These arguments cautiously and seasonably administered, produced great effect; but while the cardinal hesitated, the duke of Guise discovered his tendency to change, and by a sagacious policy, counteracted and prevented it. He proposed to the king, as the basis of a treaty, that an edict should be immediately published, depriving the Huguenots of all privileges, dignities, offices, and securities; and exposing them to the severest persecution, until they were totally

tally subdued : and offering at the same time, that he himself, to remove all ground of cavil and suspicion, would lay down all his public offices and authority. A.D. 1585.

An offer so plausible readily deluded the cardinal, which was its chief design, and confirmed his adherence to the league : it also obliged the king instantly to decide, either absolutely to join the Huguenots, or to join the league, and be subject to its authority and direction. He was in a strait betwixt the two ; but prompt determination being necessary, absolute ruin presenting itself to him on the one side, and some prospect opening to him on the other, of recovering his dignity and power by delay, he agreed to the following conditions of peace : that he should prohibit the exercise of any other religion, than the Roman catholic : that all heretical preachers should be forthwith banished : that all Huguenots should be punished by confiscation of their goods : that the conduct of the war against them with this view should be entrusted to such men only as the league might confide in : that the courts and institutions established in favour of the Huguenots, should be abolished : that the dukes of Guise, Mayenne, Aumale, Mercure, and Elbeuf, besides the government of cities and provinces which they held under the king, should retain as cautionary towns in trust for the league the cities of Chalons, Thou, Verdun, St. Desire, Rheims, Soissons, Dijon, Beaune, Rue, Dinan and Coneg : that the cardinals of Bourbon and Guise, and the dukes of Guise, Mercure, Mayenne, Aumale, and Elbeuf, should have each a certain number of body guards mounted on horseback,

Frustrated  
by the policy  
of the duke  
of Guise.

Negotiation.

A.D. 1585. horseback, at the public expense: that a hundred thousand crowns should be paid to the duke of Guise, to enable him to build a citadel in Verdun: and that the arrears due to the foreign troops employed by the League, should be paid by government. On these terms, the spirit and tendency of which is obvious, the peace was concluded.

Peace be-  
twixt the  
king and  
the league.

Edict of  
July, 1585,  
against the  
Huguenots.

The king aware of their spirit and tendency, and having it chiefly in view to gain time by them; contrary to the advice of his mother, and several of his counsellors, assumed the appearance of fulfilling them, without seriously intending it. He foresaw particularly, that if he engaged actually and vigorously in war against the Huguenots, he must in the first place entrust the duke of Guise and his friends with the army, and almost the whole administration, which would be to divest himself and his friends of all dignity and power: and were the Huguenots finally subdued, the league should be supreme. He proposed therefore to issue proclamations, and take other such steps as should wear the semblance of conforming to the treaty, without in other respects materially changing the state of parties. He published the edicts, prohibiting every other but the catholic religion: banishing the Huguenot preachers and ministers: confiscating after six months, the goods of all who did not conform to the faith and worship of the catholic church: and altering the courts of justice instituted in their favour. He next assembled the chief governors of the city of Paris, the first president of the parliament, the dean of the cathedral, and the cardinal of Guise: and professing great zeal for

July, 1585.

Policy of the  
king.

for the war, said, that he only wanted money to the amount of 400,000 crowns a month, in order to prosecute it instantly, and with vigour; and that he expected all clergy and laity would exert themselves willingly to bear an equal share in it. Observing them silent, after some time he added, "Would it not have been better then to have enjoyed quietness and peace, than to declare war against the Huguenots, without contributing any thing to carry it on. I am afraid in attempting to destroy the Prêche\*, we shall endanger the mass. Give us no more words, but show us deeds."

A.D. 1585.

He proceeded farther, to levy troops and to appoint commanders. With the advice and consent of the duke of Guise, he nominated the duke of Mayenne to be general of the army in Guienne, and the marshal de Matignon, in whom he confided, to be lieutenant-general. But he in a manner surrounded this province with armies, under the command of generals, who, he trusted, would be able to controul and counteract Mayenne's plans and operations.<sup>15</sup>

The king of Navarre having published counter manifestoes, began to levy troops both among his friends at home and abroad, and in the mean time offered to decide the quarrel with the duke of Guise by single combat, or with any equal number, not exceeding twenty of a side. His late generous resolution not to change his reli-

Conduct of  
the king of  
Navarre,

\* The Prêche, or public preaching of sermons, in the manner and according to the Huguenot or Calvinistic system.

<sup>15</sup> Davila, b. 7. Mathieu, liv. i. Thuan. lib. 81.



A D. 1585.

9th Sept.  
1585.

gion, but to assist the king and government with all his party against the league, and his recent proposal for saving the effusion of human blood; to stake his own life against him whom he considered as the general enemy, not merely of the Huguenots, but of the kingdom, procured him great admiration and esteem. His excommunication too, and that of the prince of Condé, by the pope, Sixtus V., as persecution and suffering usually excite sympathy, increased his popularity. The lawyers, the parliaments, and clergy generally reprobated this papal sentence as an officious interference in the order of succession to the crown, which belonged not to any foreign power, but to the states-general of the kingdom. The courtiers and royal favourites also, naturally preferred the man who would die in support of his rights, and even of the lawful government, which persecuted him, to one whose only principle was ambition; and who would overthrow all order and government, and trample on every right, civil and sacred; to gratify his ruling passion. Sagacious and indefatigable, bold and active, the king of Navarre spared no labour, either prudently to vindicate his conduct, or skilfully to prepare for war. He collected his forces, his supplies, and stores from all quarters, assiduously trained the troops by exercise and discipline, fortified the strong places which he held, by necessary repairs and improvements, stored them with provisions, and furnished them amply with artillery and ammunition. He left nothing undone, and he appeared bolder and stronger than his party had almost ever felt before.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Davila. Thuan. Mezerai, An. 1585.

He led his principal army of nine thousand men into Guienne, whither he understood the duke of Mayenne was commissioned to conduct the most numerous army of the royalists. And he stationed the prince of Condé in Saintonge, to which the duke de Mercoeur was rapidly directing his march, marking his route by cruel plunder and devastation. The prince, guided by the flight and cry of the people, who came to implore his protection, came up with that duke at Fontenay, instantly attacked, defeated him, and put him to flight, killing many, and taking many prisoners. Without loss of time, he laid siege to Brouage with a part of his troops, whilst with the rest he hastened, though too late, to have secured Angers. As soon as he found his purpose frustrated, and no other fortress near where he might find refuge, he resolved to retreat, by a forced march, beyond the Loire. But the people of the country, always incensed against a flying army, harassed his march, destroyed the bridges, took away the boats: several armies, under de la Chastre, Mayenne, Biron, Bouchage, and Joyeuse, were advancing on different sides to inclose him. It became impossible either to fight with any probability of success, or to escape in one body; therefore, dividing themselves into small parties, of ten and twenty, and taking different routes, they deceived the enemy, distracted their attention, and by cross roads and forests, they generally escaped to Rochelle and other places of safety. The fate of those left to carry on the siege of Brouage was little better; on hearing of the flight and dispersion of the prince's army, they took fright, and on their retreat, were followed by the gar-  
rison.

A. D. 1585.

in Guienne,

and of the  
prince of  
Condé in  
Saintonge.

A.D. 1585.            rison, slaughtered, and dispersed. With the aid of England, however, the prince soon recruited another army, with which he continued to alarm and harass the king's troops and garrisons in Saintonge.

In Guienne, the king of Navarre conducted the war with the most admirable prudence and skill. He did not attempt to keep a numerous army in the field, he was satisfied that he should more successfully conquer the enemy by cutting off his supplies, fatiguing him with incessant and fruitless alarms and pursuits. He divided his army, therefore, among the garrisons subject to him in the province, and with little more than three hundred light horse, he scoured the country, visited the garrisons, conveyed abundance of provision to them, showed himself to the duke of Mayenne in the morning, and by the evening had reached the other extremity of the province. By these means, by the severity of the winter, by want of pay, and of the necessaries for such a campaign, which Henry designedly withheld from him, the duke of Mayenne suffered extremely; his men perished in great numbers from absolute want of food and accommodation; he was taken dangerously ill himself, and, though he recovered in the spring of the year, and took some places of strength, yet he did nothing to terminate the war, nor to compensate for the heavy burdens imposed on the kingdom, for maintaining it. So far, however, the king was gratified, for the greater expence, and the smaller the success, his hope was the greater, that the people would of themselves become exasperated against the war, and the league

1586.

league as the authors of it. Therefore he seemed the more zealous in the prosecution of it, added fresh armies, sometimes headed one of them himself, with the most expensive camp equipage and retinue, but doing nothing effectual against the enemy.

A. D. 1586.


The king of Navarre, still fearing that he might not be able long to endure the pressure of so many armies, managed as they were by the policy of Henry; that disastrous events might occur; that Henry himself might be obliged to yield to the league; had sent the sieur de Pardaillan into Germany, to negotiate with the protestant princes for immediate aid, in the common cause of the reformed against the catholic church. The negotiation was successful, a most powerful army of forty thousand men was raised, and marched from Germany under the prince Cassimir, by the way of Alsace into France.

The confederate princes of Germany send an army to aid the Huguenots.

The confederate German princes attempted, before this force should enter the kingdom, to treat with Henry, and to obtain from him amicably, such terms for the Huguenots as might yield them peace and security. But he seems to have been as jealous of the superiority of the reformed as of the catholics; his policy appears to have been always secretly to support the weakest side, and to oppose any measure which might give a preponderancy to either of them. He rejected the proposals, therefore, of the German princes, as an officious interference with his subjects and government, and haughtily dismissed their ambassadors. In order to render their zeal and army nugatory, he sent the queen-

Negotiation at St. Bris, O&C. 1586.

mother

**A.D. 1587.**  mother to negotiate with the king of Navarre, to persuade him to embrace the catholic faith ; if he yielded, to acknowledge him his successor, and to propose the divorce of his present licentious queen, Henry's sister, of whom all her friends were reasonably ashamed, and his marriage with the princess of Lorrain, which would detach the duke, her father, from the league and the house of Guise, and add him and all his influence to their own party.

Considered as mere worldly policy, no scheme could have been more wise. The league, deprived of such a support, must have dissolved, and the ambition of the Guises, fading from want of hope, must have ceased. But the king of Navarre had no confidence in Henry and his court ; he suspected snares in their allurements ; he dreaded St. Bartholomew's day, if he ever went to court ; his hope of the crown, considering Henry and the queen in the prime of life, was faint and distant, he abhorred the thought of changing his faith and of deserting his party ; and therefore, after repeated meetings, discussions, and conferences with the queen-mother, at St. Bris, he refused all her proposals.

Jan. 1587.  
unsuccessful.

Resentment of this refusal, fear of the German army, and apprehension also that the league, indignant at the proposals which, it could not be concealed, he had made by his mother to the king of Navarre, might move the people to the most dangerous conspiracy against him, he found it, perhaps, necessary to come to some decision. In celebrating the ceremonies of the knights de Saint Esprit in Paris, therefore, where  
 3 the

the people had become extremely seditious, and seemed ripe for a revolution against him, in favour of the league, he swore solemnly that he would suffer no other religion than that of the catholic faith; and that this might not, like many of his other professions, be justly suspected, he resolved actually to unite with the league, and to execute this resolution with promptitude and vigour.

A. D. 1587.

He dispatched a messenger to the duke of Guise, to inform him of his plans for defeating the confederacy of the German protestants, and now for effectually opposing their army: that he intended, by one army to occupy the king of Navarre beyond the Loire, so as to prevent him from attempting to meet the Germans; and trusted to the duke, and his brother Mayenne, whose provinces of Lorraine, Champagne, and Burgundy, lay in the vicinity of Alsace, whither the Germans had advanced, that they would prepare, as far as possible, to harass them and oppose their farther entrance into the kingdom. He had resolved himself, with an army of about twenty-two thousand men, to wait the result; having no objections that the duke of Guise and his army should suffer in the first instance, though he did not wish that the Germans should actually get forward to join the king of Navarre.

July, 1587.

Had not the caution of Mayenne prevented, it is probable he might have been gratified, for it was with great difficulty that duke could restrain the duke of Guise from engaging the foreign army. It was allowed, therefore, though

March of  
the Ger-  
mans:

A. D. 1587. much harassed by the two brothers, and considerably weakened by excesses and disease, to pass along by St. Aubin and Chatillon, towards La Charité on the Loire. Here the king, with his army, thought it high time to check them, and began to assail them. They were confounded, for they had been made to believe that he would not actually oppose them, but rather join them and the Huguenots, as soon as he should be assured of their protection. They began therefore to mutiny, to cry out they were betrayed, to demand their pay, which they said they had been promised on entering France; and a leader of the princes of the blood, in whom also they had been encouraged to place their hopes. None of their own leaders had sufficient authority and influence to appease them, and therefore yielding to their impatience and inclination, they conducted them into the district of La Beauce.

they mutiny.

Victory of  
Coutras,  
20th Oct.  
1587.

The king of Navarre, informed of these proceedings, became extremely anxious to join them. Collecting, therefore, a small but well disciplined army, of little more than seven thousand men, he hastened towards the Loire, in the hope of being soon able to join them. The duke of Joyeuse posted from Saumur, with an army of ten thousand men, determined to oppose him, and never doubted that on giving battle he should easily defeat, and so disappoint him. He rushed forward, therefore, towards the village of Coutras, where he understood the enemy was quartered; and so regardless of order was he, that his first troops engaged before they either considered their ground, or could be supported by

by the rest of the army. The prince's cannon A.D. 1587.  
having cut an opening in the centre of the  
opposite line of catholic lancers, he poured his  
troops through it, and attacked his enemy in the  
rear with such success and fury, that few pri-  
soners were made, and not many escaped; the  
Huguenots, notwithstanding all the prince's  
orders, being animated with resentment, on  
account of a recent massacre of two of their  
regiments by the catholic troops, slew three  
thousand five hundred of the enemy, besides the  
duke of Joyeuse himself, and his brother, the  
count de S. Sauveur; and more than that  
number were taken prisoners. There were not  
two hundred of the king of Navarre's men killed,  
and only a very few wounded.

This victory, the first which the Huguenots,  
after so many years of successive wars, had ever  
gained, raised high the military fame of the king  
of Navarre. Had the German army, now with  
a becoming spirit, pressed forward in their route  
to pass the Loire, or waited for the king of  
Navarre's junction with them, though opposed  
by Henry's army, which might have been accom-  
plished, it is most probable that the catholics must  
have yielded to the law of the Huguenots. By this  
victory, however, the latter were preserved from  
total subjection and ruin. Nor was Henry much  
dejected; Joyeuse, on whom he had heaped  
many favours, had proved ungrateful, and the  
loss of an army to the Catholic League, he con-  
sidered as an increase of the means of his own  
independence. He might have viewed it in a dif-  
ferent light, if the balance had altogether pre-  
ponderated on the side of the reformed; but the  
con-



A. D. 1587. consequence had not followed which might have been expected from the battle of Coutras. Success itself, without pay or the hope of plunder, could not bind and retain men together, who had suddenly assembled from their ordinary domestic pursuits, carrying with them a few days or weeks provision only, and whose own subsistence, as well as that of their families, required their speedy return. The king of Navarre, therefore, was to be pitied but not blamed, because he could not prosecute the fruits of his victory, because he did not immediately pass the Loire and proceed to join the Germans.

Even that might have been fatal to him, as he had no funds to pay and pacify these foreigners. For want of this they mutinied; they carelessly dispersed themselves over the towns and villages of La Beauce, where they indulged in pillaging, and where, particularly at Vilmory and Auneau, they were surprised by the vigilance and activity of the duke of Guise, and slaughtered in great numbers. The rest were permitted by treaty to leave the kingdom, on condition of never bearing arms more against France; but being unsupported and unprotected, very few of them escaped the violence of disease, and the fury of the country people. One woman, in a village in Burgundy, cut the throat of eighteen of them, in resentment of the losses which she had sustained by them.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Davila, b. 8. Thuan. lib. 86. Mathieu, liv. 2.

A.D. 1588.  


## SECTION III.

**BOTH** the Huguenot and royal armies retired ; Jan. 1588.  
the former chiefly to Rochelle, and other towns in Saintonge and Guienne, the latter to the royal garrisons over the kingdom ; but on both sides many of the men were discharged for the season, and went home. The king returned to Paris ; there the people treated him with neglect and scorn, scarcely condescending to salute him, while they rent the air with the applause of the duke of Guise, shouting “ that Saul had slain his thousands, but David his ten thousands.”

The temper and conduct of Henry were not only by no means conciliating, but repulsive and disgusting. His character seemed totally changed since his return from Poland ; he showed no energy, seldom any capacity. His chief pleasure seemed to consist in the most retired, trivial, and inactive amusement, with monkeys, dogs, and favourites, or with monks and monastic processions and ceremonies. The taxes imposed, for defraying such expenses as he squandered on these, could not fail to excite indignation. In place of maintaining soldiers, he hired different religious orders from Spain to reside near him ; he employed artists, not in the invention and improvement of military, or even agricultural engines and instruments, but in forming and carving chaplets, and ornamenting the walls of oratories.

Such

A.D. 1588.

Popularity  
of the duke  
of Guise.

Such a conduct, resembling so much the last of the race, both of the Merovingian and Carolingian princes, was most favourable to the heads of the league; and the duke of Guise seems to have kept the issue of these two dynasties constantly in his eye. He presented such a petition to the king, as might if granted, leave him no more to do, but take possession of his throne, as Pepin did that of Childeric, and as Hugh Capet did that of Lewis the Fifth. Or if he refused, that refusal would be a warrant sufficient for their claiming it as their right by force of arms. A petition or memorial was accordingly presented to the king, in name of the cardinal of Bourbon, duke of Guise, and other heads of the league, demanding that he should place himself sincerely at the head of the league, and act not arbitrarily, but with their advice and consent; that he would extirpate the Huguenots, remove favourites and evil counsellors from about his throne; cause the decrees of the council of Trent to be received and observed over the kingdom; deliver certain towns into the hands of the league, as cautionary for his sincerity and their safety, to be garrisoned and maintained at the expence of the crown; station an army on the German frontier of the kingdom, to secure it at all times against foreign invasion; and generally confiscate the estates of the Huguenots, for paying the arrears of the late wars, and defraying the expenses which must yet be incurred by others.

No direct answer being given to this petition, but on the contrary, the duke of Epernon, the great favourite of the king and hated rival of the

the duke of Guise, being created admiral of France and governor of Normandy, the latter was exasperated beyond measure, and moved by passion, resolved without delay to expel the king from Paris, and to seize the government. A.D. 1588.

For some time the people of Paris had generally attached themselves to the duke of Guise, and the league: had chosen a council of sixteen, that is one, for each of the sixteen wards into which the city was divided, whose meetings were secret, whose orders were peremptory, who were associated with the heads of the league, were violent in their zeal against the Huguenots, and against the king, as suspected of favouring them. This council assured the duke that they had twenty thousand armed men in the city, ready to act as they should direct. He approved of their zeal and diligence; but under the pretext that sixteen was too many to meet readily, and without discovery, and that in matters so critical and momentous, inexperienced officers were not to be trusted, he proposed, and they agreed to reduce the number of sixteen to five, to whom districts of the city, and quotas of the armed men should be appointed; and he named as the commanders of these districts and men, the count of Briffac, the Sieurs de Bois Dauphin, de Chamois, d'Esclavoies, and colonel de St. Paul, to whom was added, as a chief, the Sieur de Meneville. Troops were ordered to be held in readiness in the vicinity, and the keys of several of the gates were engaged, by which, when necessary, they might have access into the city. It was farther proposed that all should be ready, when the king, as usual in Lent, would walk in procession with the

Council of sixteen.

Conspiracy to seize the king.

A. D. 1588. the flagellant friars without his guards, in the habit of a penitent, attended only by the duke of Epérnon; that in these circumstances he should be easily seized, and instantly lodged in a monastery under a strong guard, and that on the duke of Guise's arrival, and by his summons, a meeting of the states-general should be convened, to decide on the king's incapacity, and to settle the government.

defeated.

The whole plot, however, was revealed to the high chancellor, and by him to the king, by Nicolas Poulain, mayor or provost of Paris, a man of little respectability, who mingled with the conspirators in order to profit by betraying them. The king neither absolutely believed him, nor disregarded his information. Feigning sickness, he absented himself from the procession; but, on the other hand, being unprepared, he did not venture, as he was advised, to seize the chief conspirators, at a meeting which they were to hold next day. His mind was generally more cautious, indeed, than resolute and bold; but on this occasion, when he had no troops, when his enemies were determined and organised, and the people of Paris generally ripe for insurrection against him, it was certainly more safe and prudent not to light the match himself, which might instantly have laid his palace and throne in ruins. It was rather resolved to ascertain, as far as possible, the truth of Poulain's information, and being satisfied, as they soon were, to collect troops in the neighbouring provinces, and to draw the Swiss regiments, lately belonging to the German army, but which the king had engaged into his service, near the city.

This

This activity of the court, and movement of A. D. 1588.  
the troops, did not escape the attention of the council of sixteen. Their hearts began to fail; their ardour cooled as danger threatened. They wanted union, decision, a head sagacious, and determined to remove their perplexity, to devise means of safety, or promptly to seize any opportunity favourable for executing their plot. They sent with all speed, therefore, to the duke of Guise, intimated to him the necessity of his presence, to direct and to govern them. Nor did he hesitate a moment, for he already knew their critical circumstances; nor did he regard the king's order, which met him at Soissons, and forbade his approach to Paris. He posted forward by private roads, that he might meet with no farther prohibitions nor interruptions, and entered by the gate St. Denis, amidst the acclamations of his friends and of the people, who crowded in thousands after him, so that he moved forward with difficulty. He went straight to wait on the queen-mother, and was by her conducted, through an immense mob, to the Louvre, to wait on the king. He endeavoured to vindicate himself, but he rather the more incensed his majesty. Henry could not disguise his indignation, and was only prevented by apprehensions of general insurrection, which he might not be able to suppress, from taking immediate and final vengeance on this bold conspirator. The duke discerned the workings of his mind; and being otherways assured of his danger, feigned himself fatigued with his journey, and requested leave to withdraw.

Duke of  
Guise enters  
Paris, 9th  
May, 1588.

<sup>1</sup> Davila, b. 9.

He

A.D. 1588.

The insur-  
rection of  
the barri-  
cades in  
Paris.

He convened the council of sixteen, and after consultation, the plan of insurrection was arranged, the signals agreed on, and every thing provided for the execution of the plot next day. The next day, however, was spent in only inflaming the minds of the people, by propagating reports that the king had resolved to put to death six score of the principal catholics, including the duke of Guise, and by force to reduce the people and city to the most absolute subjection. The 11th of May also passed away without any commotion; but early in the morning of Thursday, the 12th, the Swiss entered by the gate St. Honore, under the command of the marshal de Biran, where they were met and welcomed by the king. They were posted chiefly about the Louvre, where the king resided, as a guard for him; while the other end of the city, where the duke lodged, and the streets about the Bastille, were neglected. By this arrangement the people, now convinced by the appearance of these troops that the reports of a massacre of the catholics was seriously intended, having full liberty to act and move as they pleased, excepting in the neighbourhood of the Louvre, began to shut up their shops and houses, as usual on the appearance of a serious tumult; lay logs, and place barrels filled with earth before their doors. This error of neglecting that quarter of the city being discovered, an attempt was made, but too late, to repair it. Colonel Grillon was dispatched with a body of soldiers to occupy the place Maubert, and the street St. Antoine; but he found them already occupied by a body of students and boatmen, under the command of a military officer, and

and barricaded with chains, logs, barrels of earth, &c. On endeavouring to retreat, he saw himself shut up between the bridges, so that he could neither advance nor retreat, though his force was very considerable. A.D. 1588.

Soon after, the tocsin sounded in every quarter; the people shouted every where, *To arms*; barricades were thrown across the streets at every thirty paces, to within about fifty yards of the Louvre itself. The soldiers had no room to move nor to act. The fury of the people being chiefly directed against the foreigners, they assailed the Swiss, who were posted in St. Innocent's church-yard, so furiously, that after killing about six-and-thirty of them, they forced the remainder to surrender. They were no less active and successful in the other districts; so that Swiss and French soldiers wherever posted over the city, incapable of doing any thing to defend themselves, yielded.

When the duke of Guise had conducted this awful experiment so far as to be satisfied that he had both the people entirely at his service, and the king, if he chose, in his power, either he thought it inexpedient to attack the Louvre in its present state of defence and desperation, or was not yet prepared for the last scene of this ambitious and tragical act. He got on horseback, rode into the different quarters of the city, occasionally addressing the people, set the soldiers, both French and Swiss, at liberty, restored them their arms, and ordered them to be conducted back to the Louvre.



A.D. 1588.

Triumph of  
the duke.

It was a proud and bold triumph over majesty. It was too much or too little. "He who draws his sword against his prince, ought to throw away the scabbard." But we may generally observe the infatuation which, in the course of Providence, precedes the ruin both of statesmen and states; showing how easy it is for the Supreme Ruler to controul the boldest spirits, to dash and annihilate the most magnificent enterprises, to turn the wisest schemes and best-arranged plans into folly.

The queen  
waits on  
him.His insolent  
demands.

After the tumult had somewhat ceased, the queen-mother went to the duke, having to halt at every chain and barricade till it was opened, the whole length of the city. He anticipated her, the moment she arrived, with expressions of regret for what had happened; but ascribed it to the king's introduction of an armed force into the city, with an intention to massacre the catholics, and those who had shown themselves adverse to his favourites. Afterwards he stated his demands, in order to accommodation and peace, in a manner the most haughty and arrogant. He required that the king should declare and constitute him his lieutenant-general over all his dominions: that the states-general should be assembled at Paris, where that appointment should be confirmed: that the king of Navarre and the princes of Bourbon should be declared to have forfeited all right to the crown of France; that the taxes should be mitigated and limited: that a rule should be laid down, restricting the power of the king to alter certain forms and institutions of government: that the duke of Epemon, and other favoured statesmen, should be absolutely removed

removed from the court, and from their places under government: that the conduct of the war should be unconditionally committed to him, the duke of Guise: that the king should dismiss all his body guards, but those which his predecessors were accustomed to keep: that the command, even of these guards, should be entrusted to an officer in whom the League could confide: that the government of the provinces around Paris should be in like manner given to noblemen who were friends of the League: that six cautionary towns, with their garrisons, should be delivered to the confederated lords: that certain privileges should be granted to the city of Paris: that the count de Brislac should be appointed to command it: that the office of high admiral should be restored to the duke of Mayenne: and Mr. de la Chastre be made marshal, in place of Mr. de Biron.<sup>2</sup> The queen remonstrated; and he concluded, that since the king had brought things to this crisis, he was determined to lose his life, or to secure the exclusive establishment of the catholic religion, and the estate and safety of his own family.<sup>3</sup>

A. D. 1588.

The report of the queen on her return, afforded matter for the most interesting deliberation. The chancellor and others were of opinion that the king could not be worse by yielding to these demands. Mr. d'O, de Rambouillet, and others, insisted that it were better to endure extreme

<sup>2</sup> Davila, b. 9. Thuani Hist. Mezerai.

<sup>3</sup> Id. *ibid.* Davila's account of the barricades is most minute and interesting. There is a still more minute and a just account of these transactions, from the 7th May to the 30th June 1588, in t. 3. p. 39. of *Satyre Menippée*.

A.D. 1588. misery and death, than yield to them. The queen, secretary Pinart, &c. held a middle course, and hoped that something being given up on both sides, an accommodation might take place; and proposed to renew the negotiation. The king agreed to the negotiation, for the purpose of gaining time and covering his flight, on which he had secretly determined.

The king  
escapes from  
Paris.

There was a gate behind the gardens of the Louvre still in his power, which the Parisians had not thought of seizing. In the morning of the thirteenth, while the queen waited on the duke to negotiate with him, and designedly prolonged the conference, the king, proposing a walk in the gardens, issued out by that gate with sixteen gentlemen, and getting on horseback, rode with all speed to Chartres, where he knew the governor and people would welcome and protect him. Fifteen thousand men, the queen was assured, would have opposed his issue from that gate, if he had been much later. About two hours after his departure, the Sieur Meneville whispered the duke, as he conversed with the queen, that the king had made his escape; on which, turning with surprise to her, "Ah Madam," cried he, "I am undone! while you detain me here, the king has escaped, and will ruin me."

There is no doubt that it disconcerted all his plans, and destroyed all the hopes which he entertained by a constrained negotiation. He had now no alternative but war. It was of importance to secure the metropolis in his interest; and for that purpose, to keep the people in good spirits,

spirits, he ordered the ~~barricades~~ to be removed, the shops to be opened, and business to proceed in its ordinary course; only that strict guard should be maintained lest any enemy should enter, or any revolution should be attempted. In order to open the river and the adjacent country, for the free introduction of provisions, he seized on all the towns and forts which might obstruct the passage, either by the river or the public roads.

A.D. 1588.

The king, extremely agitated, suspecting his courtiers, so widely different in their opinions of the measures which he ought to pursue, of being influenced by self interest more than generous friendship and loyalty, conceived a daring plan, and resolved to act independently, and in circumstances which law could not regulate, to take the responsibility on himself. He dismissed the duke of Epemon, the great object of the duke of Guise's envy and hatred. He proposed to renew the war with the Huguenots. He seemed ready to fall in with most of the proposals of the duke of Guise. There appeared no great hindrance to negotiation and union. The conference was renewed; and a peace was concluded on the following terms: that the Huguenots should be persecuted to extirpation: that the late insurrections of the catholics should be pardoned: that the decrees of the council of Trent should be received and observed: that the League should have several cautionary towns granted them: that a meeting of the states-general should be called in October next: and that the duke of Guise should be declared lieutenant of the kingdom, in fact, though he did not receive the title.

Conference  
and treaty.

A. D. 1588. These were the principal articles which the king became rather impatient to have ratified, than anxious to have precisely weighed, and defined.

Treaty of  
Rouen.

States-  
general at  
Blois,  
1st Oct.  
1588.  
King's  
speech.

He was no less active in taking the necessary steps for fulfilling the treaty: and particularly called a meeting of the states-general to be held in October, at Blois, a town devoted to him, at some distance from those districts in which lay the strength of the League, and in the vicinity of the Huguenots, in whom in his present circumstances he could more confide. The states met on the 1st of October, but the assembly was not opened until Sunday the 16th, when the king delivered an eloquent speech from the throne. He expressed the earnest desire which he entertained to promote the good of his people, and deplored the dangers in which their discords and tumults had lately involved their own interests and those of the crown. He exhorted them all to restrain their party spirit and passion, to forget the past, to guard against future animosities and contentions, to provide the necessary supplies for the public government and maintenance of order; and generally, as it became faithful subjects and good men, to submit willingly and sincerely to his authority: to suspect and shun innovations, leagues, and secret associations and conspiracies, which had lately so disturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom, threatened his sovereignty, and agitated every good mind with apprehension: he would now forget what had past; but must hereafter account such conduct and intentions; unpardonable treason. He enlarged much on this topic; and concluded by observing, that as he would

would zealously study and labour for the common welfare, was resolved to live and die a catholic, and to oppose and persecute heresy; to countenance and favour all good men, to promote justice, to support and honour the nobility, to protect and maintain the rights of the church, and, as far as in his power, to relieve the common people from public burdens; so he fervently intreated them all to aid him by their good counsel and strenuous exertions. A. D. 1532.

This speech, says Davila, who was present and heard it, stung the duke of Guise to the quick: and the more when he found that it was to be printed. The archbishop of Lyons tried to dissuade the king from this; and when he could not prevail, endeavoured to make him change phrases, and omit passages, but did not succeed. In charging some of his subjects with perfidiousness and rebellion, he had spoken the truth he said, and would maintain it.

Such language, however, was certainly not consistent with his earnest exhortations to forgive and forget the past; nor was it even agreeable to that system of dissimulation to which he was accustomed, and on which he was at present determined. But it is probable that it formed a part of his secret plan to exasperate the duke of Guise, even while he accommodated to his wishes in matters of government, and to tempt him anew to some treasonable practices, in order to justify the bold measures which he proposed to execute. If this was his intention he was not unsuccessful: for the duke having founded by various means the deputies of the states in the

P 4

meeting,

A.D. 1588.

Duke's  
conduct.

meeting, and finding the majority on his side, he proceeded to cherish and renew his ambitious desires and plans. He wanted to have the title, as well as the office, of lieutenant of the kingdom; and he wanted to have and hold it, not from the king but the states-general: he, anticipating the king's ministers, moved in the states the diminishing of the public burdens, at the same time that he pressed the importance of renewing the war with vigour against the Huguenots: such was his influence, that his motion was carried in opposition to the king: the new impost, amounting to two millions per annum of gold, was repealed, and several other popular grievances were redressed: he also carried another proposition, which he had much at heart, a solemn declaration that the king of Navarre and the other princes suspected of heresy should be held incapable of succeeding to the crown. But he could not persuade the assembly to resolve, that the decrees of the council of Trent should be received.

The king thus finding the duke more powerful already than himself, in the assembly; and that he at last brought forward also his request to be received and confirmed lieutenant by the states, thought it high time to execute the resolution which he had for some time past meditated, to procure the death of the duke. He seems to have hoped that it might have been prevented by getting him sent out of the kingdom, with an army against the duke of Savoy, who had seized on the marquisate of Saluzzo; or that it might have been accomplished, as accidentally, in some such affray as took place one evening among the  
pages

pages and servants of the court and nobles, as they waited in the hall for their respective masters. When all other such means failed, he proposed to Grillon, the colonel of his guards, to rid him of the man, without whose death his life was not safe. "Sir" replied Grillon, "I am your majesty's faithful and devoted servant; but my profession is a soldier: I am ready this instant to lay down my life for your service: I will challenge the duke of Guise, if you command me, and fight him hand to hand; but, while I live, I will not be an executioner." Lognac, however, one of the gentlemen of the chamber, was not so scrupulous: he undertook it; and the deed was resolved to be perpetrated on the 23d of December. It was somehow whispered to the duke of Guise; but on advising with his friends, he agreed with them, that it was a trick of the king's friends, to frighten him away from the meeting of the States, that they might acquire the more influence, and carry every thing against the League. He took courage therefore, and resolved not only to remain, but to show no symptoms of fear.\*

On the morning of the 23d, when a meeting of council was to be held, the king directed De Larchant, captain of the guard, to double the number of soldiers; and having detained several gentlemen of tried courage with him, in his closet, sent for the duke of Guise, who had just come into the hall with the other counsellors. The duke immediately rose from the fire, near which he was seated; passed into the antichamber,

Duke of  
Guise put to  
death,  
23d Dec.  
1588.

\* Davila, b. ix. p. 368.



A.D. 1588. the door of which was immediately locked after him : seeing eight gentlemen of the king's guard only, who were known to him, he proceeded to the door of the closet ; and as he stretched forth his hand to open it, St. Malin, one of the eight, stabbed him with a dagger in the neck ; on which the other seven crowded around him, gave him each a blow, and killed him. The cardinal of Guise, and the archbishop of Lyons, who remained in the council hall, hearing the noise, sprung forward to the door, but found it fast locked ; the marshals Aumont and Retz, entering by another door, told them, that they were prisoners by order of the king ; and conducted them to a small room, where they were confined. The cardinal of Bourbon, Charles prince of Joinville, Charles of Lorraine, the dukes of Elbeuf, of Nemours, and others, with Pelicart, the duke of Guise's secretary, with all his papers, were seized and imprisoned.

The king first of all sent for Revol, the papal legate's secretary, and for the Venetian ambassador, to whom he gave an account of all these proceedings, and of the necessity for them, requesting that they would excuse and justify him to the pope and the senate. Then, having ordered the doors to be opened, that all who chose might be admitted, he said, addressing them, " That he hoped his subjects would learn to know and obey him ; that, having conquered the head, he should have less difficulty to subdue the members ; that he was resolved to be not nominally but really a king." Next he ordered the cardinal of Guise also, whom he dreaded most, to be put to death, the bodies of both  
these

these brothers to be consumed with quick lime, and their bones to be buried secretly, that no use might be made of them for moving and inflaming the people. A. D. 1588.

The queen-mother heard the noise, but was so reduced with the gout and other disorders, that she was unable to move to make any inquiry, till the king himself waited on her, saying, "I have made myself king of France." "God grant," she replied, "you may not have made yourself king of nothing! Have you foreseen the consequences? Two things are necessary in such a crisis, — speed and resolution. She did not long survive; her anxiety, on this occasion, hastened her dissolution; she died on the 5th January, 1589."

The queen-mother dies,  
15th Jan.  
1589.

Catharine de Medicis, descended of the noble family of that name, so long and so illustrious at the head of the state of Florence in Italy, the wife of Henry II., and mother of Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III., has received a different character from almost every historian who has written of those times. Some of them, as Thuanus, loading her with vices; and others, as Brantome, adorning her with virtues. All agree that she was fair, of the middle size, handsome, and accomplished. Vanity and ambition were her ruling passions. She gratified the one by the splendour of her court; by the number and elegance of the ladies who resided with her and visited her, and of the noblemen and gentlemen, of course, who were honoured with her favour

<sup>5</sup> Davila. Mathieu. Perceux. Sully. Thuanus.

and

A. D. 1589.

and invitations ; by the decorations of her palaces and equipage ; and by the magnificence of the entertainments, ballets, and shows which she gave on ordinary, and especially on extraordinary occasions, as, on the arrival of the ambassadors to announce her son's election to the throne of Poland : she gratified the other by means the most unprincipled in regard to herself, the most degrading to her sons, and the most ruinous to France. She was a catholic or inclined to Calvinism, patronised the Huguenots or persecuted them, flattered the Parisians or detested them, cultivated the most intimate friendship with the Guises or banished them, as best suited her temporary schemes of aggrandisement and power. Her duplicity was signalised during the barricades of Paris, and often in her negotiations with the Huguenots. Her cruelty was awfully displayed in the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Of many pasquinades which were published on her death, the two following show clearly the various lights in which her character was considered. The first is extracted from Brantome.

Cette reyne qui fut de tant rois la mère  
Et de reynes aussi, ensemble de la France,  
Mourut lorsqu'on avoit d'elle le plus d'affaire ;  
Car nul qu'elle n'a pû luy donner assistance.

The other is taken from Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. i.

La reine qui cy git, fut un diable, et un ange,  
Toute pleine de blâme, et pleine de louange :  
Elle soutint l'état, et l'état mit à bas,  
Elle fit maints accords, et pas moins des débats.  
Elle enfanta trois rois, et cinq guerres civiles,  
Fit bâtir des châteaux, et ruina des villes.  
Fit bien des bonnes loix, et de mauvais edicts,  
Souhaité lui, passant, enfer, et paradis.

On

On no occasion is assassination justifiable : self-defence, however, is reasonable and necessary ; and there are situations in which it may not be easy to decide betwixt them. If the duke of Guise was ardently ambitious of the crown of France, of which there seems little doubt, there is every reason to believe that he would have not only torn it from the head of the king, but taken the head from the body along with it. Convinced of this, and also seeing no other way of terminating the troubles of the kingdom, Henry seems at least somewhat excusable in uniting artifice with violence, to save his own life in most critical circumstances, and to moderate the spirit and success of rebellion. A. D. 1589.

The duke was tall, handsome, and vigorous. His strength and agility were so great, that he was frequently seen to swim in full armour, against a considerable stream. He was remarkable for his affable, polite, and engaging address and manners. He was capable either of great dissipation, or self-denial. In the camp, or field of battle, he submitted to any labour, abstinence, or exertion. His genius qualified him for the highest civil or military offices. But he was too confident and fearless. His excessive ambition scorned to be the second in the kingdom. Animated with such a spirit, he was regardless of moral principles ; trampled on the most sacred rights ; dissimulation became more natural to him than truth ; his apprehension, discernment, and foresight were quick, like inspiration. He seems to have been determined to follow the example of Pepin and Hugh Capet, in de-  
throning

A. D. 1589. **throwing his sovereign, and seizing the government.**

Such was the end and character of the ablest and most ambitious man of his times. He was capable of the most extensive and profound views and deepest penetration. He was naturally generous and condescending, which rendered him very popular. But his ambition converted all his talents into the instruments of his political designs. His beneficence, his insinuating manners, his profusion of money and promises, carried to excess, degraded somewhat, even in the eye of his admirers, his native eminence and dignity. Though younger in birth, he was superior in power to his brothers. The duke of Mayenne, who long survived him, though brave, was inactive and cautious. The cardinal, who died with him, was perhaps more zealous, impetuous, and fiery in his nature, even than he, and impelled him frequently to those bold deeds, which his own generous nature would have scarcely dared alone to attempt.

In the spring of the same year the prince of Condé also died, not without strong suspicions of poison. The suspicion fell on the princess, his wife, who was understood to have been at the same time faithless to his bed. She was brought to trial; but some of the most material witnesses having made their escape, her guilt was not clearly ascertained. He was more grave and prudent than his royal cousin of Navarre, less

Thuanus, lib. 93. and Davila, b. 9. both admire his qualities, and condemn his principles and conduct.

added

addicted to gallantry, but not less valiant and generous. His retreat and escape, after his unsuccessful attempt on Angers, were masterly and wonderful. He was but thirty-five years of age when he died, and was scarcely less bewailed by the duke of Guise, his enemy, who shed tears when he heard of his death, than by the king of Navarre, who sustained the loss of a sincere friend and an able coadjutor.\*

A. D. 1589.

When the report of the duke of Guise's death reached Paris, on Christmas-eve, it flew like lightning over the city: the shops were instantly shut; the multitude filled the streets. Some ran towards the gates, expecting fresh arrivals, with more particulars of the event; some crowded eagerly around the Hotel de Guise, to sympathise with the duke's wife and sister, who lodged there; many went about howling or raising fierce and bitter cries, expressive of mingled grief and vengeance. All was tumultuous; for the passions of the people were excited to the highest pitch, without having either any object on which to direct them, or any one in whom they confided to controul and govern them. At last the duke of Aumale arrived, and having assembled and advised with the council of sixteen, he assumed the name of governor. A memorial was presented to the college of Sorbonne, then in great veneration and authority in matters of casuistry, demanding, Whether, according to their judgment, Henry of Valois had not forfeited the crown? whether the peo-

Conse-  
quences at  
Paris.

\* Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. D'Aubigne. Thuani Hist. L'Etoile. Davila. Mezerai.

A. D. 1589.

Judgment  
of the Sor-  
bonne.

ple were not freed from their oath of allegiance to him? and whether he ought not to be held and treated as a hypocrite, a heretic, a sacrilegious traitor; who had not only massacred a nobleman, the great national defender of the catholic faith, but a cardinal in sacred orders, and eminent in the church? Two of the senior doctors of that college were of opinion that he had not; but the younger members, more numerous and more violent, were of a different opinion: so that it was easily carried without a vote, that the king had forfeited his right to the crown, and that his subjects were no longer subject to his authority and government. The throne accordingly being deemed by them vacant, the necessary steps were to be taken for the administration of the kingdom, for raising supplies, levying soldiers, forming alliances, and ordering generally the public affairs. That this judgment might be the more valid, it was agreed to be sent to the pope for his confirmation. In the meantime the people considered it as sufficient to authorise them in every species and degree of violence. They broke down the king's arms and statues, and did violence to every thing and person wearing the semblance or bearing the suspicion of royalty. They searched for Huguenots, Navarists, and Politics, as they called those who, though not exactly of their religious opinions, yet took part with them.

Holy union.

Many of the members of the parliament of Paris, not approving of the judgment declaring the king's right to the crown forfeited, nor of the steps taken in consequence of it, were thrown into the Bastile. Some of them, and

among these, Jaques Auguste de Thou, the learned author of the General History of his Times, fled. The remainder, to the number of one hundred and sixty members, approved and confirmed the deed of forfeiture, and the decree of union for the defence of the faith and maintenance of the government, under the authority of the League. This being finally subscribed and sworn to, was dignified with the name of the Holy Union. A. D. 1589.

The example of Paris was followed by several of the provinces, as, Picardy, Champagne, Burgundy, Provence, Gascony; by many of the principal cities, as, Orleans, Chartres, Meaux, Rouen, Thoulouse, Clairmont, Nantes, Lyons, &c. ; and by a very considerable number of the nobles and clergy, who drew along with them the mass of the country people. Every place was in commotion, and was filled with violence.

The king heard of these insurrections with extreme solicitude: he took every opportunity of justifying himself to the states, whom he still held assembled at Blois. He produced and published letters and other evidences to show that the house of Guise had conspired with foreign states against the crown of France, and having acquired an influence and power which placed them beyond the reach of law, and even of honourable force, it had become necessary, in defence of the kingdom and of his own life, to resort to the means which he had employed for his safety. Finding that he made some impression, and being desirous that they might disperse and communicate their sentiments, wherever they returned home, over the kingdom, he forwarded

Conduct of  
the king.

Dismisses  
the assembly  
of Blois,  
Feb. 1589.



**A. D. 1589.** and finished the business of the assembly with all possible dispatch, and having confirmed even the recent deed of union, that no suspicion might remain of his favouring the Huguenots, he dismissed them.

Negotiates  
and unites  
with the king  
of Navarre  
at Tours.

He was next desirous to obtain absolution and countenance from the pope. The submissions which he made to him for this end were too humiliating for a king of France ; for he offered to submit absolutely to his arbitration and will : yet Sixtus, too confident that he had him in his power and at his disposal, and secretly desirous to improve this crisis for subjecting France more than it had ever been to the authority of the holy see, would not gratify him. Ashamed at last of such humiliation, and his affairs becoming almost desperate, Henry was persuaded to endeavour to unite his interests and forces with those of the king of Navarre. Having no alternative, the negotiation was begun, and it was finally concluded and agreed at Tours, that for a year, during which the truce was to last, the Catholic religion should be restored in all places held by the Huguenots ; that the property of the clergy should be restored to them ; that all prisoners should be set at liberty ; that the king of Navarre should serve the king with an army of four thousand foot and twelve hundred horse ; that he, and all the cities and people who acknowledged him, should be subject to the king's authority and government : on the other hand, that the city of Saumur should be put into the possession of the king of Navarre and his people, not only as a cautionary town, but for the purpose of affording them a convenient passage over the Loire.

This

This treaty being ratified, the king of Navarre hastened to wait on his majesty at Tours. His mind was ardent; he neither restrained the warmth of his affection to his royal relation, nor the expressions of his humility and submission to his sovereign. He prostrated himself before him; on being raised, he embraced him with tenderness; as they walked into the city the people were delighted to see them together, and rent the air with their applause and acclamations. Having spent two days in conference and necessary arrangements, they resolved to unite their forces with all convenient speed, and march directly against Paris.

A. D. 1589.

April 28th,  
1589.

The king of Navarre having gone to Chinon to prepare his troops for this march, the duke of Mayenne, now declared the head of the League, having collected an army, hoped by a rapid march to surprise the king at Tours, before he should be joined by the troops of his ally. The duke having got possession of an eminence near the city, galled the royal army, and drove them from one street of the suburbs to another till he had almost inclosed them within the city. But information being conveyed to Chinon, the arrival of the army from that quarter, by a rapid march, put an end to the contest; the duke of Mayenne having buried his dead, amounting to more than a hundred, retreated: above four hundred of the royal army, and many officers were slain.

The duke  
of Mayenne  
attacks him  
in Tours.

This, however, was more than compensated by the victory of the duke de Longueville over the duke of Aumale, at Senlis. The latter having sat down before that city with 9,000 Parisian infantry,

7th May,  
1589.

A. D. 1589. fantry, and about 700 cavalry, the former, and Mr. La Noue, with only 2000 infantry and 800 horse, attacked and totally defeated him, obliging him to flee from the siege with the loss of 1200, while their loss was only twenty men.

The joint armies of royalists and Huguenots having passed the Loire in their route to Paris, took Gergeau, Piviers, Chartres, Estampes, Montereau, Pontoise. At Poissy they were joined by 10,000 Swiss, 4000 Germans, besides the troops of the duke of Longueville, making an army of 42,000 men. With this army the king laid siege to Paris, while the fear of it opened to him the gates of all the towns in the neighbourhood. But Jacques Clement, a friar, whether from enthusiasm, or the persuasion of the League, resolved to kill the king. The count de Brienne, who was then a prisoner in Paris, being made to believe that Clement might be instrumental in introducing the king into the city, and having no other suspicion of him, gave him a letter of introduction to his majesty. On the morning of the 1st of August the friar was introduced to him as he was dressing himself, and having delivered the count's letter into his own hand, stabbed him with a knife deep in the belly. The king drawing out the knife himself, struck it into the assassin's forehead. The gentlemen of his chamber also seized him, pierced him with their swords, and threw him over the window to the soldiers, who burnt him, and scattered his ashes in the river. The wound which the king had received was at first thought slight, but in the evening it inflamed, and proved mortal. He died on the 3d day of August in the thirty-sixth year

The king is  
assassinated,  
1st August,  
1589.

year of his age, and in the sixteenth year of his reign.<sup>9</sup> A. D. 1589.

When he found his strength decaying, and that he had not many hours to live, he called in the king of Navarre and the nobility; the latter he exhorted to acknowledge the former as his lawful successor, and their rightful sovereign; and at the same time embracing him, said to him, and repeated it a second time, "Brother, you will never be king of France, unless you become a catholic."<sup>10</sup>

Henry wanted neither talents nor courage. They appeared conspicuous in the more early period of his life, as duke of Anjou. He was then prudent and active, magnanimous and beneficent. He was then far more popular and admired than his brother Charles; whether his own temper changed on his return from Poland, and on his elevation to the throne; whether he was too much influenced by the cunning policy of his mother; whether he was convinced that he would be more successful by accommodation than by decision and exertion; or whether he was alternately ruled by superstition, the love of pleasure, and ambition of independence, it is difficult to determine. By all these occasionally governed, and having no settled principles of his own, nor able and steady friends in whom he confided, he became fickle and unstable. His piety was accounted hypocrisy; his prudence,

<sup>9</sup> See note at the end of the chapter.

<sup>10</sup> Davila, b. 10. Mathieu, liv. 5. Thuan. lib. 96. Some say the 37th year of his age. Mezerai says the 11th month of his 39th year.

A. D. 1589. craftiness ; his policy, meanness ; his liberality, profusion ; his friendship, favouritism ; his affability was despised ; his gravity hated ; his name almost generally detested.

The king of Navarre often pitied him, and showed at different times a generous disposition, when he saw him almost destitute and deserted, to join and support him. He was finally rewarded. For had he been on the other side of the Loire when the king died, and not, as actually happened, at the head of a great army in the vicinity of Paris, there is no probability that he could ever have succeeded to the crown of France.

Three or four causes have been assigned for the late Henry's want of success, and general adversity. The first was his effeminacy and indolence. The love of pleasure probably enervated both his body and mind ; on its account he neglected the talents with which he was endowed, and the opportunities with which Providence favoured him. Engrossed with frivolous amusements or superstition, he seemed often uninterested in affairs of the utmost importance, and as if he were indifferent about both the means and the end of reigning usefully for others, and happily for himself.

The second cause was his want of prudence and œconomy, both in providing and expending his finances. Profusion, even in useful and necessary pursuits, is but one of the channels into which a treasury may be poured ; it may issue by a copious stream also in unseasonable and extravagant

travagant pensions and gratuities; but while the attention is fixed on such outlets as these, no account often is taken of the waste by neglect. There is a ruinous loss of money both in domestic and political oeconomy, arising from the want of rigid superintendence and minute inspection. Henry's indolence, fanaticism, and love of pleasure, rendered him incapable of this. He neither calculated the amount of an enterprise, nor reckoned accurately with those through whose hands the money passed for defraying the expence of it. Hence, exhausted and perpetually in want, he was sometimes forced to abandon his schemes unfinished; at other times obliged to extort taxes or contributions from his people, of such a kind, and in such a manner, as to oppress and alienate them. A. D. 1589.

A third cause of his misfortunes and troubles was his want of integrity and fidelity. In place of that open and manly conduct which excites no emotion of suspicion and jealousy; of that honesty and magnanimity which scorns disguise, which abhors treachery, which will submit to extreme suffering rather than to falsehood, he accustomed himself to subtle distinctions and equivocations; he studied to veil his own conduct, yet wanted eagerly to discover the secret motives and designs of others; he felt no compunction for breach of faith, or the violation of any duty. Hence, though represented by some writers as religious, and adorned with virtues, it is certain that even his friends placed no confidence in him; neither catholics nor protestants trusted him; his subjects at last generally hated and deserted him.

A. D. 1589.

A fourth cause may be added, his partiality and prejudice. He was attached to his mother, to Joyeuse, to Epemon, and confided to them what he ought to have done himself; he consulted them when he should have exercised his own judgment; implicitly adopted their opinion, and entrusted to them duties which they were not qualified to discharge. On the other hand, he was jealous of his brother, the duke of Alençon, and drove him to rebellion. He detested the religious principles of the king of Navarre, and could scarcely be brought to unite with him to save his crown or his life.

## NOTE.

VARIOUS opinions have been entertained, both with respect to the agent and circumstances of the death of Henry III.

Mathieu, a contemporary writer, and soon after historiographer to Henry IV., says, "I have heard it observed, that if Jacques Clement had not been recognised by an archer of the gate, called Francis du Mont, and by others, many were disposed to believe, that it was a Huguenot in disguise: and if he had not been instantly and rashly put to death, it should have been found by his acknowledgment, that he was engaged to perpetrate the crime by the count of Soissons, for the purpose of rendering the king of Navarre more odious, and to exasperate the catholics against him to the utmost."

Mezerai alludes to the same thing, but adds more circumstances. "The body, says he, was thrown over the window, stripped naked, and remained above an hour exposed to the view of every one, that if it were

were possible, it might be discovered who he was. For many were unwilling to believe that he was really a jacobin; and insisted that it was a soldier disguised by the catholics of the League. There were some," he adds, "so malicious as to affirm that it was a Huguenot employed by the king of Navarre." A. D. 1589.

Others have insinuated, that there were great rejoicings on the occasion by the Huguenots; and some journalists remarked, that Henry had been assassinated in the very chamber in which the council was held and the resolution taken to execute the massacre of St. Bartholomew 1572, as if the one had been perpetrated in resentment of the other.

The knowledge which we have of the temper and character, and uniform conduct of Henry IV., ought to remove all suspicion from him. A person of his generosity, integrity, and dignity of sentiment, could not be an assassin, nor give any countenance to assassination. His friends and followers assimilated to his temper; and sensible that they could not ingratiate themselves by such a deed, attempted not to propose it to him, nor entertained the hope by doing it, ever to enjoy his favour. It was not his interest at this time to put Henry to death.

There is as little reason to believe, that it was a soldier in disguise, and not a jacobin monk. The one is a mere suspicion, founded on no circumstance of fact. There is no doubt that the Leaguers were capable of any thing, by which they might have safely and surely accomplished their end; but it is more probable that they should have attempted the life of the king of Navarre first, who had now become a greater obstacle on the whole to their ambitious and rebellious designs, than the unpopular, inactive, and pitiful king of France. There is as little doubt that a jacobin in a clerical habit, might have an impious and murderous heart. He might be persuaded not only that it was no crime to put Henry to death; but in so doing, that



A. D. 1589. that he did God service. The Catholic zeal, which whetted the swords of St. Bartholomew, and so often kindled the fires, and prepared the tortures of the tribunal of the inquisition, could easily animate a friar to a service so holy, and so assured of an eternal reward as the murder of Henry, the great enemy of the League, and of the church.

Still it is said, that mystery overhangs this event. That there was an impatience to put to death the assassin; to mangle him so that he could not be recognised; and at the same time an affected ingenuousness, in exposing the corpse for being inspected and known.

But who inflicted the first wounds? Was it not the king himself, who having pulled the knife from his own body, twice struck and wounded the assassin on the face? Who was the second who assailed him? Was it not La Guesle, the procurator-general, who, under the influence of strong emotion, and without deliberating on all the consequences, plunged his sword into the regicide's body, and was immediately followed by all the attendants, who seemed ambitious every one to testify his indignation against the crime, by having some share in its punishment? By these means, the body could not fail to be disfigured and mangled; and still more by its being thrown indignantly over the window into the street. The master of the palace gave orders, after exposing it some hours, to be burnt by the common executioner, and the ashes scattered in the river.

D'Aubigné, a protestant writer, seems unreasonably to blame the procurator-general. True it is, as a lawyer he ought both to have more deliberately weighed consequences, and to have possessed more the government of his spirit. But who in such a situation could have acted with coolness and deliberation? He appears, indeed, on second thought, as soon as the rage and violence of others allowed him to reflect, to have endeavoured

endeavoured to check and restrain them, by crying "not to kill him." In his journal, p. 142, La Guesle himself says : " Seeing the wretch still standing firm opposite to the king, and fearing lest he might have more arms on him, and inflict more deadly wounds on his majesty, I seized my sword, plunged it into his stomach, and threw him into the street. The noise brought out the ordinary guards : one of them endeavoured to rescue him from the blows of the rest, who were mangling him, notwithstanding my intreaties not to kill him." From these words he appears to have been still alive : and La Guesle seems to have thought that he had only wounded him, but not mortally. A. D. 1589.

Mezerai observes, that some writers have published that the authors of the plan had requested, and directed those near the king to kill the assassin on the spot ; which is to insinuate, that the king was encompassed with enemies under the mask of friends : that the procurator, the provost, or master of the palace, the guards, &c. &c. all were in the secret, equally traitors, and accomplices with the devisers of the plot.

But it is probable that M. La Guesle knew the criminal personally, and entertained no suspicion of any other. He had been recommended to him by the count de Brienne, then prisoner in the Louvre ; in consequence of which he had supped and lodged in his house the preceding night. Let us hear him in his own words, *Journal de M. de la Guesle*, July 31st, 1589 : " Returning home on the last day of the month with some friends, he met a jacobin betwixt two soldiers : he asked if he was a prisoner ; they said, No — that he was a messenger bearing letters of importance to the king : on which he carried him home to his own lodging. As soon as I arrived, says he, I interrogated him strictly respecting his message ; but found him under such difficulties about communicating his trust to any one but his majesty, that I desisted. He said generally that he was sent by M. Harlay, the first president, to assure his majesty that he and other good loyalists

A. D. 1589.

loyalists were sorry that they could learn nothing of the army, excepting that it was at no great distance : that they were made very unhappy by the imprisonment the preceding day of a thousand or twelve hundred of their number : that such sufferings, however, diminished not their zeal and attachment to his cause : that such was their number, and their ambition to serve him, that they had commissioned him to assure him, that they were prepared to put him in possession of one of the gates of the city. On which I questioned him minutely and particularly, whether the first president was alone, or in company with others when he gave him this commission, and made this proposal ? The Abbé de Lagny, he answered, was with him. How had he got access to him being a prisoner in the Bastille ? he said that he had been accustomed to go thither frequently to visit a son of Portail, the king's surgeon. Had he any letter, or other token from the president ? he produced a billet, which he said was his writing, as follows : ' Sire, The bearer will inform you of the state of your good subjects, and of the treatment which they receive here, which however shall never deprive them of their inclination to serve you : they are more numerous, and have more in their power than your majesty most probably conceives. A favourable opportunity now offers, concerning which we request your orders, and pray you to entrust them to the present bearer.' This note was signed by a cross within an O.

" Having read this note, I asked him how he had got out of the city. He answered, that he professed to be going to Orleans, and had procured a passport from the count de Brienne, prisoner in the Louvre, which he instantly produced.\* This examination lasted a long time ; while thinking he might be a spy, I endeavour-

\* It seems as if this friar Clement had been in the practice of going messages for the royalists ; and probably for these very gentlemen now prisoners ; and had therefore been judged by their adversaries the fittest for the employment in which by persuasion, and no doubt high bribes, they now engaged him.

voured

voured by all the means in my power to expiscate the truth. I even hinted to him that I had some suspicion of him. But he was unmoved, and adhered to his original statement, declaring that he would persist in the discharge of his commission, till the day and hour were fixed for opening the city to the king, for all which he would be answerable with his life. When I found I could make no more of him : I left him with the people of my household, with whom he supped and lodged that night." A. D. 1589.

When he sat down to supper, some one of the company observing him take out his knife to cut his food, said, that he would rather forget his breviary than his knife : he readily replied, that both were good, each in its season, and produced also his breviary. He not only ate his supper heartily, and with composure, but being visited by some of the family in his bed chamber, was observed to be in a profound sleep.\*

These circumstances are all simple, natural, and favourable, on the supposition that this person was Jacques Clement. But it is objected, why did not La Guesle ask for the certificate of the prior of his order, without which a jacobin is not at liberty to leave Paris ? Had this been produced, it should have proved first that he was a jacobin : and secondly, led to the enquiry whether the prior knew him ? had granted him that certificate of absence, and wherefore ? and since it was even suspected that he was a spy, why was he allowed to approach the king, without being carefully searched ? without taking from him the fatal knife which they knew he carried with him : that the circumstances of the times, the heat and rage of parties, the critical state of Paris, the zeal of the Huguenots, and the virulence of the League, all ought to have rendered those about the king extremely cautious and active in their examination of those whom they permitted to approach his person. On serious reflection,

\* Mathieu. Mosera. Satyre Menippe, t. ii. p. 465—7.

there

A. D. 1589. there is no doubt that more strict examination might have been made ; but such reflection is both more common and natural after such an occasion, than at the critical moment.

On the whole, every circumstance may be reasonably accounted for, on the supposition that neither the Huguenots, nor the royalists, were at all partakers in the guilt of Clement : and that he was employed, and the whole plan devised by the heads of the League, in Paris. Having contrived the plot, and engaged the friar to execute it, it was easy for them in such a city as Paris, at that time to find persons capable of imposing on both M. Harlay, and de Brienne ; the one a prisoner in the Bastille, and the other in the Louvre : under the name of royalists, to persuade them that the friends of the king were numerous and zealous in the city : and that a plan might be formed for admitting his army into it, were a confidential messenger entrusted on both sides with the necessary communications. With this view, M. Harlay the first president readily recommended the bearer, whom they certified to him, and of whom he had no reason to entertain any suspicion. The count, in like manner imposed on, gave a similar recommendation. This is sufficiently attested by M. Favin, the companion and friend of the president, who lived with him afterwards in habits of intimacy. " That apostate," says he, in his history of Navarre, " in order to get access to the king, obtained letters of recommendation from Achilles de Harlay, first president of the parliament of Paris, then in the Bastille, addressed to the king ; and also from the count de Brienne to the procurator-general. It appears farther from a pamphlet of that time, that the friar having procured these letters went to different houses well affected to the king, informing them generally of a mission with which he was entrusted in favour of his majesty, and asking them if they had any thing or letter to transmit to the king, or to their friends. They gladly embraced the opportunity of communicating their names at least, as friendly to their sovereign, in

order that they might be treated as friends by his army, which they hoped should enter Paris in two days.\* A.D. 1589.

To conclude, there is no reason to think that the servants of the king had any share in the crime of his assassination; but on the contrary, there seems no doubt that it was entirely devised by the heads of the League in Paris, and executed at their request and persuasion by friar Jacques Clement of the order of the Dominicans.

\* *Satyre Menippe*, t. ii. p. 506.



## CHAP. II.

The History of Religion in France, from the Death of Francis I., 1547, to the Death of Henry III., 1589.

## SECT. I.

*Of Religious Doctrines and Controversy.*

THIS subject has been so interwoven with the civil and military history of this period, that it will not be necessary to add much more on the subject. The great, and almost the only controversy in France, was that of the Huguenots. It engrossed the whole attention; and the external pressure of persecution preserved it compact and firm, allowing scarcely any of that remission and relaxation from disquietude which is favourable to speculation and division.

State of religion in France.

The church of France always boasted of its liberty; and indeed it did in many struggles maintain its independence on the court of Rome. Yet it was generally liable to be influenced by it. Its independence in ordinary cases was more nominal than real. The clergy were accustomed to take refuge, by appeals under the papal protection :



tection : they could not alienate the church lands, without the pope's consent : a papal sentence of excommunication sickened the French monarch himself, and overcast even his prosperous army with sadness. <sup>1</sup>

Ignorance  
and super-  
stition.

Notwithstanding the progress of infidelity and atheism in the court, among the nobles, in the army, and even among the clergy, a great degree of veneration for the latter, and for the ceremonies of religion, remained. Du Perron, an ingenious and eminent ecclesiastic, who had successfully proved the being of God, in the presence of Henry III., undertook next day to show to the same company's satisfaction, that there is no God. He was disgraced, indeed, by the king; but his confidence illustrates the prevalence of irreligion among the highest ranks of men. Yet when Henry wanted some of his courtiers, who had assisted in the assassination of the duke of Guise, to kill also his brother the cardinal, they refused, being afraid to imbrue their hands in the blood of a churchman. <sup>2</sup>

Almost an equal veneration was shown indeed to magicians and astrologers, who were consulted by men of the first rank, and whose predictions were credited by them. <sup>3</sup> The number of these forcerers and pretended prophets are said to have amounted, in the time of Charles IX., to thirty thousand. <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 1589. Davila. <sup>2</sup> L'Etoile, p. 73. Davila, p. 372.

<sup>3</sup> Sieur de Pontis, p. 30—40. <sup>4</sup> Mathieu, Hist. t. 1. p. 40.

This degree of ignorance and vague superstition, being accompanied with an almost total want of moral principle, produced great licentiousness of manners. Charles IX. was destitute of humanity: Henry III. of rectitude: their mother's only principle was ambition, to which she rendered all pleasures, as well as all kinds of pursuits and occupations, subservient: Their sister Margaret, her daughter, was trained by her almost as a prostitute.

General  
licentious-  
ness.

The venality and debauchery of the higher as well as the lower orders of the clergy gave an example as well as sanction to vice among the people. How could their teachers reprove and admonish them, when they almost openly indulged in every species of moral turpitude themselves.

The clergy were the more fearless and bold to transgress, because they claimed exemption from all civil jurisdiction; and relied on the tenderness of their ecclesiastical judges. The archbishop of Lyons, 1588, resisted all the authority of government, which would have subjected him to a trial, as an accomplice of the Guises, and insisted on his superiority to any jurisdiction in France.

The clergy.

Their large revenue rendered them both more proud and sensual. It might be unequally divided among them; but it is said in the reign of Henry III. to have amounted to 20,000,000 livres, about 900,000 pounds sterling.

<sup>5</sup> Thuani, Hist. ad ann. 1588.

The number of the clergy is not accurately ascertained.

There were 650 abbeys of the orders of St. Bernard and St. Benedict only, besides 2,500 priories.<sup>6</sup>

Their revenue was the greater, because they seldom readily contributed to the maintenance of government ; and their reluctance was strengthened, by the countenance which they received from the court of Rome.

Yet the French monarchs, on the other hand, claimed the right of taxing them ; and often enforced their claim. From 1560 to 1575, being fifteen years, 18,000,000 livres, 787,500*l.* sterling, had been levied from them, which is about 1,200,000 livres, or 52,500 pounds sterling a year.<sup>7</sup>

This appears to have been the ordinary annual contribution of four-tenths ; but on particular occasions there were extraordinary aids, or exactions, levied, amounting to two, three, or four-tenths ; without any application to or leave of the court of Rome ; for it was always supposed to concur, when no objection was made. This very idea, that an appeal might be made to the Pope, and that he might object, showed practically a sense of dependence on him, though denied in speculation.

<sup>6</sup> La Noue, p. 357.

<sup>7</sup> Thuani, *Hist. lib.* 61. vol. ii. p. 135.

Church lands were never alienated without the concurrence of the pope ; for no purchaser thought his rights complete and secure without a papal bull to this effect. Several examples occur in the reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III. ; and it was understood in each of these cases, that the produce of these sales was to be employed in a kind of crusades against the Huguenots.\*

From the transactions of the council of Trent, especially towards the end, as well as from various other evidence, it appears that examples of non-residence, of neglected vacancies, of pluralities, of children, soldiers, and even women holding church benefices, were numerous and common. This was represented to the king, by the assembly at Melun, 1579, when they recommended it to him to receive, or at least in the cases referred to, to apply the decrees of the council of Trent, for remedying the most intolerable grievances in the church. It appeared that 28 bishoprics were vacant in France: the fruits of which were drawn by laics ; and the spiritual duties of them totally neglected. That non-residences were chiefly prevalent in the south and western provinces: that the number of monasteries occupied by lay persons was past all reckoning: that a noble lady held a bishopric adjudged to her by law ; and that the number of sacred benefices granted to military men was so great, as to threaten the overthrow of the church.† Cardinal du Bellay, brother both of William and Martin,

\* L'Etoile, Lab. sur Castelnau, vol. 2. p. 89.

† Thuan, Hist. lib. 68. p. 282. Brantome, t. 1. § 2.

the historians of their own times, held the archbishopsric of Bourdeaux, and the bishopsrics of Paris, Mans, and Limoges. The cardinal of Lorraine had many abbeys, and other benefices along with the archbishopsric of Rheims, and the bishopsric of Metz.<sup>10</sup> In 1581, there were in all ninety-six bishopsrics in France; and one hundred and thirty two thousand parishes.<sup>11</sup>

The state of Rome, the character of the popes, and the extent and influence of the catholic faith are intimately connected with the history of France.

The popes.

Paul III.

The ambitious, the elegant, and profuse Leo; the learned and grave Adrian; the martial, avaricious, the irresolute, and faithless Clement, belong to the history of the preceding period. The times of which we now write commence towards the close of the pontificate of Paul III. His policy and dissimulation, long retarded the meeting of the council of Trent, an account of which will be found in the next section, and his vigilance and artifices afterwards controlled its deliberations and decrees. His leading passion was to aggrandise the family of Farnese. With this view he obtained Margaret, the natural daughter of Charles V., in marriage for his grandson Octavio: he solicited the investiture of the duchy of Milan for him with tears; that duchy so long the object of French ambition; so obstinately contested betwixt France and Spain: and gained finally by the latter, at the expence of so much blood and treasure. Such a conquest

<sup>10</sup> Labour. Casteln. t. 1. " Satyre Menippe, t. 2.

could

could not be alienated from the Spanish crown, But the refusal of it alienated, however unreasonably, the pope from the emperor ; and provoked him to employ other measures for promoting the advancement of his family, equally inconsistent with the principles of justice, and the fidelity which he owed to the patrimony of the church as its temporary occupant and head. He involved France for a time in the quarrel. But Henry was forced to withdraw his attention and troops to another quarter. He conferred on Peter Farneze, his son, the territories of Parma and Placentia, which belonged to the church, and were not his to give away. The tyranny and crimes of that son raised a conspiracy against him ; he was assassinated ; Placentia was seized by the emperor ; Parma by the pope ; Octavio the grandson failed in his attempt to recover the latter from the papal forces. Such contentions agitated Paul, now far advanced in life, shook his constitution, and hastened his death. If he was not an infidel, for he shewed more respect to magic and astrology, than to the doctrines of revelation and the providence of God ; he was certainly impious in comparing God the Father to Saturn, and Jesus Christ to Jupiter.<sup>12</sup> It was he who foolishly and arrogantly pretended to alienate Ireland from the English crown, in resentment because Elizabeth shook off the papal yoke, which her predecessor Mary had re-imposed on the church and people of England.<sup>13</sup> He has been charged with crimes, which cannot decently be recorded, and with perfidy and cruelties, which almost sur-

<sup>12</sup> Paoli Sarpi Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. 2. Bruys l. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

pass our belief. There was no doubt a disposition on the part of the protestants to aggravate, if not to misrepresent the characters of catholic churchmen, and especially of the popes. But there are so many facts, incontestable against them, as to lay a foundation for the credit of other things, the evidence of which may not be so clear and decisive.

Julius III.

On the death of Paul III., the cardinal del Monte, so active, eloquent, and overbearing in the council of Trent, was raised to the papal throne. Familiar with the spirit and conduct of that council, and by no means thinking it so formidable, as his predecessor had done, he was more easily persuaded to re-assemble it at Trent. It had scarcely resumed its deliberations, when the approach of Maurice elector of Saxony, at the head of an army, chafed the emperor himself from Inspruck, and dispersed the council in every direction. Julius being rather indolent than afraid, felt relief from this suspension of the council, occasioned by the protestants themselves, who had been most urgent with the emperor in demanding it. He was highly gratified at the same time by the re-union of England, under Mary, with the catholic church, and sent over cardinal Pool as his legate to absolve the kingdom, to receive the homage of the queen in name of her subjects, and to re-admit them into the bosom of the church. But he gave great offence, not only by his excessive indulgence in worldly pomp and sensual pleasures: but by creating a young man of seventeen years of age a cardinal, to whom he had formed the warmest attachment. Various suspicions were

were entertained that he was his son ; that his affection was accidental and unaccountable ; that a veil of secrecy concealed practices the most shocking. His impiety and vices finally rendered him odious, and considered as the head of the Christian church, he died justly detested.<sup>14</sup>

The death of Marcellus II. three weeks after his elevation to the pontificate, excited some regret, as hopes were generally entertained of his comparative superiority and excellence, as a man and a pope. He was the more lamented on being contrasted with his successor.

Marcellus II.

John Peter Caraffa, at the age of seventy-nine, assumed the title of Paul IV., 23d May, 1555. The severity of his temper and austerity of his manners inspired the papal court with the fear of strict inspection and serious reformation. But with the name, he adopted the arrogant and haughty spirit of the popes. On being asked by his steward in what manner he chose to be entertained and served, he answered, "as became a great prince." Pretending that Ireland did not belong as a kingdom to Philip and Mary, arrogating to himself the sole power of constituting kingdoms, and of conferring them, and desirous, at the same time, of gratifying these potentates, he, by his sovereign and divine right and authority, granted them that kingdom, and the right of adding the title of Ireland to those of England and France. He soon felt, however, the limits of his authority and power. Bigotted as Mary was, she refused the restoration of the eccle-

Paul IV.

<sup>14</sup> Fra. Papli Sarpi Hist. de Concile de Tr. liv. 4. & 5.



fiastical property confiscated by Henry VIII., for it was alienated, and she herself was restrained by parliament. Neither did she subject the church of England to the pope, as he expected, but proclaimed herself the head of the church. Zealous against the protestants, and indignant against the emperor for tolerating and favouring them, he formed the purpose of resenting that conduct, by uniting with Henry II. in the conquest of Naples. The duke of Guise accordingly was dispatched into Italy; but he was successfully resisted there by the duke of Alva, who invaded the church territory, and threatened Rome itself with military chastisement. He was soon recalled, in consequence of the victory of St. Quintin, to defend France itself from invasion.

Paul became more passionate and irritable as he approached the termination of his life. When the cardinal of St. James pressed forward to speak with him on a critical occasion, he threw him back by a furious blow with his fist on the belly.<sup>15</sup> The agitation which his other passions produced, and the grief and disquietude occasioned by the death of the king of France, on whom he relied for protection against the emperor, overwhelmed him, already tottering under the infirmities of old age: he died on the 18th of August 1559. Instantly the people assembled tumultuously; beheaded his statue; dragged it through the streets; threw open the inquisition prisons; liberated four hundred persons whom his zeal and fury had confined; and consigned

<sup>15</sup> Hist. de Concile de Tr. liv. 5.

the books and papers of that tribunal to the flames.<sup>16</sup>

Cardinal Medéquino, Pius IV., his successor, Pius IV. as usual, totally changed his temper and character on his elevation. The humility, mildness, and virtue of the cardinal, seemed to be put off with the robes of that station, in order to give place to the peculiar dress and qualities of the pope. He became regardless of moral principle, as well as of religion, and accommodated the feelings of humanity to policy. He owed his elevation to the Caraffas: these, however, at the instigation of the emperor, whom they had offended, were the first victims of his power. Avarice and violence were the prominent features of his character; and as soon as he had dissolved the council of Trent, and freed himself from the anxieties which it occasioned, he sunk into indolence and pleasure. If he was less criminal and warlike than his predecessors, he was not much more respected; for he was negligent of business, and excited little attention. He was not destitute of talents, and he shewed some liberality to learning and the arts, but the pleasures of the table, to which he was always addicted, proved at last fatal to him.

Michael Ghisleri, inquisitor-general, succeeded Pius V. him, under the name of Pius V., A. D. 1565. The spirit of his former profession followed him to the throne. The pope continued still a dominican, and an inquisitor. His bigotry and bloody zeal accorded well with the natural

<sup>16</sup> Hist. de Concile de Tr. liv. 5.

March 3th,  
1572.  
Gregory  
XIII.

temper and habitual aim of Philip II. and Charles IX. Fain would he have dethroned Elizabeth, and exalted her rival the unfortunate Mary to the throne of England. He is entitled to some credit for the success which attended his policy and league against the Turks. This was the great object which animated him as long as he lived. It was his successor, Buono Campano, Gregory XIII., who expressed such satisfaction and joy on receiving information of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and who encouraged Charles IX. in his plans of extirpating heresy, by the extermination of heretics. Their policy was equally illiberal and unwise: every one knows that opinion acquires strength, and spreads wide by opposition and suffering, but by toleration becomes indifferent, and sinks into neglect. To Gregory we owe the reformation of the calendar. He appears on the whole to have been a man of a mild temper and respectable talents. The paucity of remarkable incidents during the thirteen years of his administration is no inconsiderable evidence of his wisdom and moderation; and the public demonstrations of approbation of the conduct of Charles IX. might be official rather than personal, necessary acts of the papacy, though probably detested by the man.

Sixtus V.

Sixtus V. commenced his reign 1585, towards the conclusion of the reign of Henry III. He possessed more ability than experience, and was more a theologian than a politician. He was severe in his temper, and haughty in his conduct, but he is not charged with any of the

the vices with which so many popes were accused before the council of Trent.

During this period the territory of the Roman see continued nearly the same in extent, with the exception of Placentia, seized on by the emperor, and extended from the Tiber to the frontiers of Naples. But the population was comparatively small; the inhabitants of Rome scarcely amounted to fifty thousand souls. The addition of strangers might increase this number above a third, and on Christmas eve 1574, when Gregory proclaimed the year of Jubilee, by knocking at St. Peter's gate with the golden mallet, three hundred thousand pilgrims and strangers were reckoned to be present. The country was ill cultivated, and generally covered with marshes; the people were dependent for almost every thing on importation. The papal army, which sometimes amounted to twelve thousand, were chiefly hired from Switzerland and Germany. Pius V. even supplied the emperor Maximilian II., in 1571, with a navy of twelve galleys, besides a considerable number of land forces, which contributed to the victory over Soliman's fleet at Lepanto. All Europe, excepting the protestant states, then contributed to replenish the papal treasury. The influx from indulgencies, Peter's pence, annats, tithes, and other impositions and offerings, must have been immense. It is rather astonishing that such wealth should ever have been exhausted. But there was no economy in the papal administration: every pope enjoyed but a short life-rent, was neither accustomed nor inclined to the strict management of finances; and the drain was often very great in subsidies  
to

to foreign princes, engaged, or supposed to be engaged in enterprises for the protection of the church, for extending her influence, or for subduing her heretical as well as political enemies.<sup>17</sup>

*The Council of Trent.*

Sleidan.

THE three principal and original writers of the history of the council of Trent, are Sleidan, father Paul Sarpi, and cardinal Palavicini. The first of these was a protestant, and wrote a history of the reformation, which is accounted impartial, authentic, and judicious. He records the civil as well as the ecclesiastical transactions of the times, which indeed are so blended themselves, that they cannot be separated. In doing this, he notices occasionally the circumstances which produced the council of Trent, describes the forms which attended its meeting and sittings, and mentions shortly the incidents in its history, and the decrees which it passed, almost without an observation. He is a plain, concise, and honest writer of facts in their chronological order. He seems to have been present himself in the council, and to have had access to the best information. One thin folio volume contains all his history.

Paul Sarpi.

Paul Sarpi wrote two large folios professedly on the history of the council of Trent alone. It is, however, interspersed with other civil and ecclesiastical history connected with the subject of the council. It must have been a laborious

<sup>17</sup> Sleidan Reform. b. 17. Onaphr. Barroin, passim. Hist. Conc. Trid.

work, founded on what he heard, read, and saw ; though he could not personally attend the council, being but eleven years of age when it was finally dissolved, he might become intimately acquainted with many of its members : he perused the records, histories, and pamphlets of the times ; he had free access to valuable manuscripts, which he examined with avidity and care, and he naturally possessed those talents, indefatigable industry, a retentive memory, an acute discernment, and a sound judgment, which with sensibility and candour eminently qualified him for so important a work. He traces at great length the causes in the civil and ecclesiastical state which both promoted and retarded the assembling of the council. He does not, like Sleidan, describe the circumstances and order of procession, nor the mode of sitting in the house ; but he describes briefly the character of the principal members, and records their speeches, never at full length, which is to be regretted, but in substance. He suggests their principles, and the policy which influenced them ; and he states the decrees at length, and their consequences, or the manner of their reception by the different nations, with the observations made on them. He is uniformly moderate, animadverting freely, though himself a catholic, on the pope, the bigotry and folly of his partisans, and the prevalent hypocrisy and selfishness of the times. He successfully exposes the intrigues of the papal legates, and the general artifices, pride, and ambition of the members. The work is arranged in chronological order ; the subject is on this account frequently suspended, and its relations disjointed and obscure ; the style is not lively, and the progress of the narration appears  
some-

sometimes slow and tedious. But read with patience and attention, it will amply repay the student with a most luminous and satisfactory view of the council, of the politics of Europe, and of the leading characters of the period.

Palavicini.

Cardinal Palavicini wrote about fifty years after him, chiefly with a view to correct the errors of father Paul Sarpi, and to vindicate the council, which he, and many zealous catholics, thought his predecessor had injured. He does accordingly set him right with respect to several names and dates, which however are of no great importance. He labours more as a pleader to confute his adversary, and to apologise for the proceedings of the council, than as an historian, with simplicity, truth, and dignity to record its conduct and transactions.

The following sketch is founded on an attentive perusal and faithful comparison of these several histories.

Occasion of  
the council.

The corruption and superstition of the church of Rome, and the disorders of her clergy, both regular and secular, had long rendered a reformation extremely desirable. The chief difficulty was to determine by what means it might be most successfully accomplished. The councils of Pisa and Constance had terminated the papal schism, but had contributed nothing to the reformation of the popedom itself, of the church, or of the clergy: ambition, avarice, licentiousness, and vice had rather increased, in consequence of the cessation of that emulation produced by the rival popes and their adherents. The rise  
and

and progress of Lutheranism had shed over Europe that degree of light which roused a general spirit of enquiry. Many, from attachment to ancient custom and established institutions, from aversion to change, and from the very spirit of opposition, might be more confirmed in their delusion and error ; but generally men of all ranks, whose minds were active and liberal, who felt any regard at all for religion, literature, or liberty, groaned under the oppression of the Roman hierarchy. Not only individuals, but the states of France, the diets of the empire, the French Huguenots, and the German protestants, the very catholics themselves, princes and clergy, convinced of the increasing degeneracy of ecclesiastical institutions, characters and practices, frequently and loudly demanded their reformation. Even the most bigotted in their attachment to the papal supremacy hoped, by reforming some things, and more clearly defining and explaining others, that the protestants might be satisfied and reclaimed, and the union of the church, over Christendom, restored. Some flattered themselves that this might be effected by provincial and national councils ; others, thinking that the operation of these being dissimilar and partial, might rather augment the schisms in the church, and the consequent distractions of Europe, insisted on the convocation of a general council, in a central and safe situation, as the most probable and effectual means of terminating all differences, and uniting all parties.

But the great obstacles to this, and to the reformation in general expected from it, were self-interest,

Obstacles to  
its meeting.



interest, the love of power, and the dread of innovation. The pope naturally opposed himself to any thing like a rival power, such as that of a general council, which might ultimately be found superior to him. He could not avoid reflecting on the decrees of the council of Constance, which deposed John XXII. By similar decrees, though he might not be deposed, such limits might be set to his influence as to diminish half his authority over the world. Now as the first luminary of heaven, splendid and glorious in the sight of men, he trembled lest he should be shorn of his rays, eclipsed, or extinguished. Such dangers were, if possible, to be avoided.

The bishops were no less jealous of their rights and privileges. They had grown from time and practice immemorial: many of them had been acquired by gradual usurpation. They were held by usage and indulgence: their limits in most cases undefined, admitted of frequent and oppressive extension. Any investigation of them, by the authority of a general council, was too formidable a proposal to be relished by the bishops and secular clergy.

The regular clergy, the heads and members of monastic institutions, beheld themselves generally in similar circumstances, and exposed to similar dangers.

Each of these, too, was afraid of the other: the pope, lest the bishops and abbots should by the authority of a council reclaim and recover the rights of which he had spoiled them; and they, lest he, by the same authority, should not only obtain

obtain a confirmation of these rights, but acquire others to which he farther pretended. Each, therefore, zealously employed their influence secretly and openly, as opportunities occurred, and as their temper disposed them, to discourage and oppose the calling of a general council. The pope particularly endeavoured to persuade the emperor, at one time, and the king of France at another, when they, moved by their people, pressed him on the subject, that a general council, instead of pacifying and uniting, would distract the world; would shake the authority of the constituted powers; would inflame and dissolve society: that the church and state formed one great body, so incorporated, that they must certainly stand or fall together; and that their interests, as princes, were inseparably involved with his.<sup>1</sup>

Francis being more indifferent on the subject might have acquiesced; but Charles V., more determined himself, was rendered more zealous and urgent by the dangers which he apprehended both from the Turks and the Lutherans: the former threatened to invade the empire, and already occupied the frontier of Hungary; the latter would neither march under his standard, to oppose these infidels, the enemies of Christendom, nor was it safe to leave them behind him in their present irritable and unsettled state. He proposed to pacify them by acceding to the common desire of a general council, which it was expected too sanguinely might heal all divisions, and by suit-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. du Concile de Trente, par F. Paul, trad. par le Courayer, edit. à Londres, 1736, liv. 1. p. 84.

able reformation and accommodation, unite all men in one common faith and practice. He prevailed with Francis to join him in his intercessions with the pope, therefore, to summon a council, as the only probable means of defending the church against the infidels. Paul III. could no longer resist their joint solicitation, and especially when enforced by a plea so formidable; and agreed to grant their request. But still he hoped to evade the design of the council, by convening it at a distance from the protestants, and near himself, by overawing its deliberations, and dictating its decrees. Pretending the jealousy entertained by the different kingdoms of one another, and the respect which they all had for the holy see, he insisted that the council must be held, not in France, Spain, or Germany, but in Italy; and proposed successively Bologna, Parma, Placentia, Ferrara, Mantua, and Vicenza. Objections however occurring to each of these, it was finally agreed that it should be assembled at Trent, a city in Italy, but on the confines of Germany.

Is called.

The bull for this purpose was accordingly published on the 22d of May, 1542, summoning the clergy, and inviting the princes, nobles, &c. of all the states of Christendom to attend, in order to a solemn and amicable revision of doctrines, reformation of manners, and final settlement of all religious and political differences. The declaration of war immediately after, betwixt Charles and Francis, furnished Clement VII. with a new pretext for recalling the legates and a few prelates whom he had sent to open the council, and for delaying its commencement until

until it might be referred to, and held with more tranquillity and safety.

On the return of peace, by the treaty of Crespy, September, 1544, the council was again indicted to meet at Trent, on the 15th March, 1545. Ten prelates only had come by the 10th of May; the emperor himself visited them on the 16th, but no commission was yet granted for opening the council. Twenty members were assembled by the end of that month, but of these the greater part threatened to return; some of them from poverty, which could not bear the expence to which they were exposed, and others from disgust, because they were doing nothing, and saw no prospect of commencing the business of the council. They were the more provoked, when they heard of diets held, and treaties ratified in France and Germany, including declarations of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, on the very subjects for which they were assembled at Trent. The emperor and the king of France, they said, were not likely to respect the decrees of a council, which they superseded by their own local conferences and regulations: what idea could they have of the utility and importance of a council, to which they proposed that no discussions should be held, nor decrees passed by it, on doctrines, lest offence should be given to the protestants?<sup>2</sup>

This proposal, that no doctrinal question should be discussed, filled the pope with indignation. In his resentment he made the more haste to

<sup>2</sup> Hist. du Conc. Trid. p. 203.

Legates sent  
to open it.

open the council, and resolved that doctrines only should be submitted to its deliberation. Three legates, John Maria de Monte, Marcello Cervino, and Reginald Pool, were commissioned and dispatched for this end, 15th December, 1545. They were required to maintain a constant communication with him, and to admit nothing as a matter of serious discussion in the council without his knowledge and permission. Several months were already spent in waiting for a fuller assembly. Twenty-five bishops only had arrived when the council was opened, which number increased soon after to forty-eight. The cardinal de Monte opened the council by the solemn reading of the papal bull, and by a speech, in which, among other things, he stated, that the design of the council was to extirpate heresy, to re-establish the discipline of the church, and to restore the peace of Europe. Two months were occupied in ceremonies, in discussions on the title which the council should assume, on the seal it should use, on the right of precedency among bishops, ambassadors, and princes, and generally on the mode of procedure, without coming to any precise decision on almost any of these points. As some arrangement, however, was necessary in practice, the following order was generally understood and observed.

Procession  
to it.

The fathers having met in the legates' lodgings, went in procession through a lane of about 450 soldiers, horse and foot, to the cathedral church. The cardinal legates, with their cross-bearer before them, preceded the bishops, these following according to their rank: as soon as they had all entered the church, the soldiers fired a volley,

a volley, and kept guard till the dismissal of the council, when they returned in the same order. After mass was performed, and on particular days, a sermon was preached, the minutes and decrees of former sessions were revised, ambassadors were heard, letters and papal bulls were read, and other forms were gone through, till the day was generally far spent. Is opened.

The promoter was the moderator, or president<sup>3</sup>; but the papal legate held the first rank in the council: next to him, the cardinal of Trent; then the legates' colleagues, the electoral archbishops, and the other prelates according to their rank or the seniority of their consecration.

A session of the council itself was held perhaps once a month only, or oftener, if business required. The business was prepared for each session by two subordinate committees or congregations<sup>4</sup>, the one of divines and canonists, having the rank of doctor; with John Gropper a civilian, and John Delph a divine, although not doctors, on account of their extraordinary learning and talents. Into this meeting all had access, but no one was permitted to speak in the congregation without a doctor's degree. The other was the congregation of bishops, who having received the report of the divines on the subject submitted to them, revised their opinions, which were recorded by the clerks, and out of them framed a doctrine, or prepared a canon or decree, to be reported to Order of procedure.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. du Concile, t. 1. p. 514.

<sup>4</sup> This did not take place till May 10th, 1546. F. Paul, t. 1. p. 263.

the council. In the session of council the divines were allowed frequently to speak and give their opinion, but prelates only had a right to vote. Such was the external form of the council, which appears to have been well arranged and cautiously ordered for grave deliberation and wise decision. We are assured, however, that the canons and decrees which seemed thus so prudently and solemnly framed, were previously dictated at Rome, and duly forwarded to the legates, who maintained a good understanding with the majority of both divines and bishops. Hence the common saying in those times, that the Holy Ghost went regularly from Rome to Trent during the sittings of the council, in a cloak bag.<sup>5</sup>

The discussions must have been often extremely tedious. The speeches were frequently two hours long.<sup>6</sup> It required at least a month to hear the opinions of all the divines, even before the subject, whether relating to doctrine or practice, was brought before the congregation of bishops.<sup>7</sup> But sometimes their debates must have been sufficiently animated and amusing. Two examples only may be mentioned as they are described by Pallavicini himself, the avowed and zealous apologist of the council.

On the 30th of July, 1546, Pachecus or Pacecus, a Spanish cardinal, eloquent, bold, and zealous in the interest of his master, the emperor,

<sup>5</sup> Sleidan's Hist. of the Reform. book 22. p. 520, 521. edit. London, 1689.

<sup>6</sup> Pallavicini, Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 722. edit. Antwerp, 1670.

<sup>7</sup> Sleidan, 521.

and

and consequently most generally in the opposition party to the papal legates, suspecting that the latter secretly had it in view to break up or translate the council, without even indicting another session to sanction the business which was already discussed, insisted, before they were dismissed, on a certain day being fixed for the meeting of the next session, and which, being put to the vote, he carried, though by a small majority. The cardinal del Monte (Montanus) the first papal legate, a man of ability, quick and imperious, maintained that in a question, especially of form, the voice of the legate ought to preponderate over so small a majority of votes. The other said in a tone of considerable emotion, that neither the number of the majority, nor the rank of the voters, could affect the right which he had acquired by the decision, which he was entitled and determined to hold. As they were proceeding in a highly inflamed state, Mandruccius, the cardinal bishop of Trent, of a moderate temper, though vain of the local rank which he held next to the first cardinal legate, as bishop of the city, interposed; "I am ashamed," said he, "and tremble, when I observe any of you, and especially my most respected fathers, moved with passion; wherefore I pray you to deliberate with more composure and meekness, as becometh christians. I am not insensible of the human infirmities which cleave to myself, and am always extremely sorry when tempted by provocation to betray any violence of temper." Montanus thinking this reproof addressed chiefly to him, proudly replied, that he perceived, in place of exercising the highest authority in the council, he was treated as a pupil by his master; adding, "I would have him,  
who

Disorders.



who requires mildness of speech and temper from others, to exemplify it himself." The one endeavouring to vindicate himself from vanity and arrogance, on account of his local circumstances, the other haughtily claiming a supremacy, as legate, and requiring that every one present would learn to know and keep his proper place. Paceus rose with indignation, and in the name of the council demanded equality and liberty of speech. The assembly became altogether tumultuous, the inferior orders of the clergy attempted to drown the noise and extinguish the flame of their superiors with their exclamations, which also proving ineffectual, Petrus Tagliavia, archbishop of Palermo, threw himself on his knees, and with outstretched hands, and tears, implored their attention, and the restoration of concord. So unusual a spectacle and mode of entreaty drew the universal attention, and surprised the combatants into forbearance and peace. Petrus was afterwards rewarded by Montanus with a cardinal's hat, for this humiliating, seasonable, and successful supplication. \*

As there were three important ends, on account of which it had been declared the council was convened, so it became a subject of serious discussion with which of them they ought to begin, the revision of doctrine, the reformation of discipline and government, or the restoration of peace. One party, chiefly friends of the pope, proposed doctrine as deserving their first attention, being the foundation of the whole edifice of the christian church. The imperial party

\* Pallav. Hist. lib. 8. c. 7. n. 10. p. 736-7.

pressed the reformation of abuses as most urgent. The French party insisted on the necessity first of securing peace in order both to safety of attendance and tranquillity of deliberation. A fourth party were of opinion that all the three subjects were so equally essential, that neither was entitled to preference in itself, and therefore ought to yield to circumstances of expediency; or being all inseparably connected, that they might deliberate on them jointly, and by that means also avoid giving offence by showing a preference. This discussion was terminated by a recommendation of the cardinal Mandruccius, that each of the members should begin with reforming himself. His speech was highly approved by all, but followed by none; many exclaiming that the reformation ought to be universal, and was so urgent that they had no time to begin with individuals. At last they resolved to write to the emperor, the king of France, the king of the Romans, the king of Portugal, and the other catholic princes, exhorting them to maintain and promote the peace, to send ambassadors to the council, as well as the bishops of their dominions, and to do their endeavour to render their journey to it easy and safe; and considering the importance of the two other points, the extirpation of heresy and reformation of manners, they decreed that they would not separate them, but proceed with them together. They first of all declared the Apostle's creed to be the confession of their faith, and then in the third session, the 22d of February, 1546, almost a whole year from the time fixed for the commencement of the council, they began seriously with the revision of doctrine.

Profess the  
Apostle's  
creed.

Revision of  
doctrine.

From

From the writings of Luther they extracted the following four propositions :—

“ 1. That the articles of Christian faith necessary to be believed are all contained in the sacred Scripture; that it is a human device to add tradition, and impious to pretend that any tradition is of equal authority with the books of the Old and New Testament.

“ 2. That no books ought to be admitted into the canon of the Old Testament but those which were received by the Jews, and that from the New Testament ought to be excluded the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse.

“ 3. That in order to understand the true meaning of the Scripture, it ought to be studied in the original text, and the Latin translation ought to be rejected as full of errors.

“ 4. That the Holy Scripture is plain and clear, no other gloss nor commentary is necessary to understand it, but simply the genuine spirit of a christian.”

The congregation of divines held four meetings on the first two articles, and in opposition to the first, generally agreed that the christian doctrine and faith are founded on both Scripture and tradition; but there were different opinions of the degree of faith which ought to be attributed to them comparatively, and especially to the latter.\*

\* F. Paul Hist. du Concile de Trente par Courayer, t. 1. p. 235. This may be understood always as the authority from which the above sketch is taken, unless some other be quoted.

Some

Some insisted that Scripture rested on tradition, and tradition on the church, but they differed about what is the church, whether the standard writings of the fathers; of zealous catholics who had written against Luther; the ecclesiastical order; and especially collected in council; or the pope.

Whether  
tradition is  
necessary.

Anthony Marinier Carme, a theologian of ability and eloquence, but suspected of Lutheranism, questioned the fact whether the will of God was partly ordered to be written, and partly prohibited to be recorded, or whether it had so happened by chance. He shewed that Moses had been repeatedly ordered to write the will of God; which had served as a rule to the other writers of the Old Testament; and to the Jews in receiving their books. That Jesus Christ had not himself written any thing; but neither had he forbidden his doctrines to be committed to writing, as impostors have usually done. The Apostles claimed the gift of inspiration in what they wrote, as well as in what they spoke, and affirmed them to be the same things. Wherein then consists the difference? Why did not the Apostles write all the will of God committed to them? Or if forbidden, how did their successors dare to write or publish what was forbidden to the Apostles? To suppose that the neglect of writing any part intended for the church happened by chance, is an impious arraignment of the providence of God.

This speech was not much relished by any of the members. Cardinal Pool an Englishman, and one of the cardinal legates, mild and generous

generous in his temper, active and assiduous in the discharge of his duty, grave and temperate, but decided in his mode of speaking, said that the sentiments of the last speaker were more becoming a German conference, than a general catholic council; that it was captious, and more calculated to confound than convince; in a word that the Lutherans ought to receive all the doctrines of the church of Rome.

Sacred  
canon.

On the second article, they unanimously agreed to receive into the canon all the sacred books then read in the catholic churches, together with the apocryphal books of the Old Testament. But some were for arranging them into different classes according to their supposed different degrees of authority. This proposal however was finally rejected, and all were received as of equal authority.

Latin ver-  
sion.

On the third article, concerning the original and the Latin version of the Scripture, a hot contention arose betwixt the doctors, learned and unlearned in these languages. Some were for revising the Vulgate; others thought the author of it had been inspired, or so nearly so that it would be a kind of sacrilege to alter it. It was finally agreed to sanction it as the best version on the whole, which, though not absolutely perfect, contains no material error relative either to faith or practice.

On the fourth article, regarding the clearness of the sense in the Scripture. If the sense is clear, it was said, how happens it that the most celebrated theologians as well as fathers have differed

differed concerning it? Shall the minds of christians be so fettered, that they must not exercise their talents at all in searching the Scriptures? Or where is the line to be drawn? The Scriptures, it was said on the other hand, are so sacred, that they ought to be kept and looked on merely as precious and venerable, but not to be studied, which would injure veneration; that the consequence of study would be diversity of opinion, contention, and disorder.

Comment-  
ary not  
necessary.

An anathema was finally decreed against every one who shall contravene the decision of the council on the two first articles, viz. the number of canonical books, and the authority of tradition. But more liberality and tenderness were felt with respect to the contraveners of the two last, until at least the matter should be farther considered under the head of reformation.

Having next proposed to treat of the reformation of prevalent evils, every member pressed forward with those peculiarly known to him. But the attention of all was finally arrested on the thousand modes of weakness and superstition by which men study to know those secrets of Providence which are wisely hidden from their view, and to discover causes and effects in more ordinary cases, which are destined as the reward of science and industry. In order to discover hidden treasures, to cure diseases, to obtain prosperity, to prevent adversity, to become acquainted with the thoughts and intentions of other men, and with their own future destiny, they had recourse to pagan magic, to christian rites, to the most trivial and childish acts, and to most

Prevalence  
of magic.

most absurd and sometimes horrid practices. Even for many of these there were found advocates in the council, who defended them as acts of piety and religion, or at least as things innocent and tolerable. The council, however, agreed, without enumerating and condemning them specially, to remit the whole subject to the discretion and judgment of the bishops, that every one might do in his own diocese on the subject as seemed most for edification.

Right of  
preaching.

A dispute arose betwixt the regular and secular clergy concerning the office and privilege of preaching. The former declared that they had not intruded themselves; that the duty had been so neglected by the prelates and their curates, as to have gone into total disuse, if they had not supplied the deficiency, which they had now done, and with the approbation of the pope, these three hundred years, deriving no emolument from it but food and raiment. The latter, however, insisted that preaching was their peculiar privilege, which no one ought to hold or exercise without their authority; that the former assumed it, not for the purpose of instructing and edifying the people, but to flatter them, to acquire popularity, and to extort alms. It was at last decreed, that the regulars might preach in their own churches, without a licence from the bishop, but not without his leave in other churches. As this implied, and as it was understood, that bishops and parish priests must preach themselves, it involved the question of residence, which however was deferred for future discussion.

In

In the fifth session, July 17th, after long and various debate, it was decreed, That Adam, having apostatized and degenerated, became corrupt and mortal; that he conveyed his guilt and depravity to his posterity; that men are justified by the merit of Jesus Christ; that baptism, both of infants and adults is essential to this justification: but though essential, it does not free from sin entirely in this life. It was understood at first that the state and character of the Holy Virgin is not to be included in this decree. After a long and learned discussion, opinions were found so diversified, that they could not be easily collected and arranged, therefore it was agreed generally to believe the common doctrine - on the subject, that she was conceived immaculate.

Original sin.

The greater part of the time, from July to January 1547, was spent in uninteresting, but violent debates on faith, justification, free will, grace, and penitence. On one of these occasions, St. Felix, bishop of Cava, having, in a speech of some length, ascribed more influence to faith in man's justification, than to others seemed reasonable, Zannetina, bishop of Chersonæ, in Greece, whispered to those near him, that he was determined to refute him at the first meeting, for that he was disgusted equally with the man's ignorance and confidence. The former hearing a part only of the words, but enough to know they referred to him, demanded what it was which he had whispered? The latter repeated the very words; on which St. Felix flew on Zannetina, and seizing him by the beard, pulled a part of it along with him, and immediately fled. The Grecian only repeated with a louder

Personal violence.



voice his former words respecting the Italian's ignorance and confidence. But the legate, and other members of the council being grievously offended at the outrage, took the subject into their serious consideration. The fugitive was the more in danger of having a partial and severe sentence pronounced against him, because he was suspected of leaning towards Lutheranism. Montanus the first legate, however, was more moderate than might have been expected. Cervinus, another of the legates, subtle, suspicious, prone to dissimulation, dark in his designs, and severe in his temper, was of opinion that the punishment ought to bear a just and full proportion to the publicity and heinousness of the offence. Pacecus manly and upright, but as has been already observed, generally opposed to the papal legates, denied the publicity and the aggravating circumstances of the fact; and insisted that if it was necessary to subject him to a prosecution, that it must be conducted regularly and according to law. This was the opinion of the majority of the members: but a great number considering St. Felix as a heretic as well as a public offender, were for carrying him at once to Rome, to be judged by the pope. Cornelius Muffus, bishop of Bitonte, one of the most able and eloquent members of the council, and consequently of great authority, delivered a most pathetic and impressive speech in favour of the culprit. He pled that St. Felix had already confessed his crime; that his acknowledgment ought to diminish one-half of the punishment; that he was descended of a noble family; noble himself in genius and principles; warm in his affections, inviolable in his integrity; his beneficence

ficance was universally celebrated; and his zeal in serving the public, since the commencement of the council, had been remarkable and uniform. "Will you then," said he, "ruin for ever one of the best of men for one single offence, of even which he can scarcely be held guilty, since he committed it in a fit of insanity, brought on him by strong provocation?" St. Felix, however, was imprisoned, brought to trial, condemned, and anathematised. After several years, his adversaries relented, circumstances of policy changed; the sentence against him was cancelled, and he was restored to his former dignity and office.<sup>9</sup>

This was a remarkable, rather than a singular feature on the face of the council. They were on every subject partial and contentious, and became heated and violent in proportion as questions or occurrences suggested suspicions of each other's designs, excited jealousies of rivalry, involved metaphysical and obscure points of doctrine, or discovered any bias in favour of heresy. This partiality and contention arose not merely from the diversity and pertinacity of individual opinions, but from the opposition, the emulation, the pride and envy of the several religious orders, particularly the Franciscans and Dominicans in the council, as well as from the vanity and ambition of the representatives of the several states and nations. On the subjects of justification and grace, at this time before the council, the Dominicans generally favoured the doctrine of Augustin, the Franciscans that of Pelagius. All were attached to the scholastic

Justification  
and grace.

<sup>9</sup> Palavicini, lib. 8. c. 6.

opinions; and could scarcely endure any thing like a departure from the established maxims and phrases of the schoolmen. The Dominicans were generally the most proud and opiniative; and none of them spake with more ability and decision than Dominique Soto, a Dominican and Pelagian. He was a clear, fluent, and nervous speaker, and was always heard with attention. He stated with precision, in opposition to some preceding orators, the difference betwixt faith and confidence or assurance; that by the one we are accepted and justified, that the other respects our own state, whether we be justified or not, and is often liable to become temerity and presumption, if not restrained by humility and modesty.

Ambroise Catharin, afterwards bishop of Minor, was one of the most moderate and judicious among the divines. His bias in doctrine was known to be towards the Augustins and Calvinists; but his good sense and eloquence, which was of a calm and tender nature, sustained and recommended him. He stated with great success, in opposition to both Dominicans and Franciscans, who admitted some degree of human merit into justification, that the best works of man are sinful; that all his virtues are the fruits of divine grace; that he hath nothing whereof to boast, and can be justified only by faith, or by believing the gospel of Christ. This he illustrated by many analogies, and by many references to St. Augustin, Ambrose, and the other fathers.

Anthony

Anthony Marinier maintained that they were divided in their opinions, more by words than substance; that there were degrees of sin and of grace; and that the steps of fear, contrition, and resolution in conversion, were not to be accounted in the number of good works; but operations of providence and grace, extenuating the power, and correcting the habit and tendency of sin. Prejudiced against him, however, as a Lutheran, the congregation rose in opposition to him with one voice, and obliged him to retract his opinion in favour of justification by faith, and the importance of grace.

The assembly afterwards plunged and laboured long in all the intricate and perplexing questions and distractions of free will, grace, and assurance, election, predestination, and reprobation.

At last the congregation of prelates, having framed the opinions of the divines into a decree, it was reported to the council, and sanctioned in substance as follows:

That men having become sinful, cannot deliver themselves; that they are only justified by faith in Christ; that baptism is essential to justification; that though grace interferes not with the freedom of the will, it is necessary both in the commencement and progress of faith and holiness; that the faith of the character and promises of God inspires the mind with fear, love, and resolution of obedience; that this is followed by justification, which includes not only remission of sins, but sanctification; and hath five causes, viz. a final cause, the glory of God and eternal life; an

efficient cause, God ; a meritorious cause, Jesus Christ ; an instrumental cause, the sacrament of baptism ; and a formal cause, the righteousness which God imputes to every one as it pleaseth him ; that faith is the principle of justification, yet neither it nor any other good work of ours is meritorious ; that no man can nor ought to boast of his justification, as if he were certain of it, for the best of men may sometimes doubt of this, because of the continued prevalence of sin ; that there is an increase or progress of justification, by advancing in obedience to the commandments of God and the church ; that the commandments of God are not impracticable to the justified man, nor is he ever exempted from keeping them ; he may fall into venial sins, but he rises again, and perseveres, though with some imperfection in holiness ; that no one ought to presume on his being predestined ; or, that being justified, he cannot sin fatally ; for how can it be known with absolute certainty, until the end come, whether a man be predestined and justified ? But every one who truly asks it, may rely on the grace and protection of heaven ; that a sinner may be recovered by penance, that is, by confession and absolution, which however are not understood to deliver from eternal punishment, which is the effect of the mediation of Christ alone, but to relieve from or prevent temporal punishments only ; that divine grace may be lost by infidelity, or any mortal sin ; that good works qualify men for inheriting the promise of eternal life, and shall not lose their reward.

But the council was not satisfied with stating the doctrine on this subject, which men ought to

to believe; it proceeded immediately to declare the opposite heretical doctrines, which they ought to avoid, accompanying them with solemn anathemas against all who teach or entertain them. Any one will readily conceive them by reversing all the preceding articles.

The council having from time to time deliberated also on subjects of reformation, and particularly concerning residence, decreed as follows; that any prelate of whatever rank, who shall absent himself from his diocese six months in continuance, without a sufficient cause, shall lose the fourth part of his revenue, which shall be repeated with the repetition or continuance of the offence; and after the third time he shall be denounced by his metropolitan to the pope, who may punish him even to deprivation.

Clerical  
residence.

That the clergy inferior shall in like manner be liable to correction and punishment by their respective bishops; that regulars as well as seculars shall be subject to the correction and punishment of the ordinary, either where they reside or offend; that the chapters of cathedral churches shall be subject to similar discipline, and that no bishop shall intermeddle with another's diocese. Thus the 6th session concluded.

On the 15th January 1547, a general congregation was held to consider what subjects were to be treated in the next session. As they followed the order of the subjects of the Augsburg confession, they should have proceeded of course to the subject of the ministry of the word and sacraments. Some of the members were of

opinion that this article involved the question relative to the nature and authority of the church. But the legates, alarmed at the least proposal of any thing which led to the discussion or comparison of papal rights and privileges, insisted that the Augsburg confession in this place referred to nothing but preaching and the sacraments; and as the former was already settled by a decree of the council in the fifth session, they ought to proceed directly to deliberate on the sacraments.

The sacraments.

This being agreed to, and the subject being entered on by the congregation of theologians, they were unanimous in admitting seven sacraments, and in condemning the contrary opinion as heresy.

They were more divided in opinion respecting their necessity, and referred the determination to the council.

As they could not agree at all on which of the sacraments ought to be declared superior or preferable, they waived the subject, by concluding that some were more essential than others.

They agreed that the sacraments, for example, baptism, conveys grace of itself, whether administered by a good or bad man, to an adult, an infant, or an idiot.

The Dominicans said, that a sacrament communicated grace, as any cause does its effect, as a vessel its liquor. The Franciscans denied this, and affirmed that the grace resided not in the sacrament.

sacrament, but in the promises accompanying it, and flowed not from the former but the latter.

Much contention arose about the character impressed by the sacraments on the mind: if a quality, what was its nature among all the four different species of qualities taught by the schoolmen. Some said it was a spiritual power, others a habit or disposition; some a spiritual figure, &c. There was no less diversity of opinion respecting the residence of this character; some placed it in the essence of the soul; some in the understanding; some in the will; some in the tongue; and some in the hands. They resolved at last to leave the subject as they found it.

Sacramental  
virtue.

After reasoning, they first declared that a bad minister does not affect the sacraments, and then, sometime after, they affirmed that the intention of the minister is necessary to give efficacy to the sacrament. It was asked by several members, in vain, what should become of those who suspected the intention of him from whom they received it. Their liberality was wonderful in admitting unanimously, that baptism, administered according to the forms and intention of the catholic church, even by a heretic, is good and valid. They farther agreed, that baptism shall be conferred gratis; that it shall be administered, except in special cases, in the church publicly; that there shall be but one godfather; that the water of baptism shall not be carried away; and that excommunicated persons, or guilty of mortal sins, shall



shall not be baptised. Decrees were accordingly passed on all these subjects in the next, the seventh session of council, accompanied as usual with anathemas against those who entertained or taught the contrary opinions.

In the mean time, the congregation of canonists having been employed on subjects of reformation, and the prelates having collected their opinions on them, the council sanctioned the following decrees.

That every bishop must be lawfully born, of mature age, learned, and of good character.

No pluralities.

That no man shall hold several metropolitan, or cathedral churches, either by title or commendam; and that such pluralities shall cease within six months, or a year at farthest, the occupant reserving one only. That in like manner pluralities of smaller benefices shall cease; they shall be given to worthy and sufficiently qualified persons, who shall reside and personally perform the duties of the cure. The ordinary of every district, as deputy of the holy see, shall take care that this decree be duly executed; that parishes be duly supplied, and suitable provision be made for every qualified resident. Other useful regulations were enacted concerning the granting of orders, the management of hospitals, &c. which terminated the chief business of the 7th session by the end of February, and the 8th session was appointed to be held on the 21st April 1547.

Making allowance for the trifling subjects which occasionally occupied the congregations; the

the scholastic and absurd manner in which they were generally treated; the vehemence of particular tempers, and the spirit of party which always reigns in numerous assemblies; the council appears to have been proceeding with considerable success and perseverance during several months<sup>10</sup>: and latterly gave hopes that sound judgment might at last prevail, and issue in the profitable and decided reformation of the most aggravated and intolerable disorders of the church and clergy.

But the pope began to be alarmed when he found that all the influence, the arts and talents of his legates were insufficient to prevent the council from entering on the discussion of points of reformation. His supremacy, or his subordination to a general council, he dreaded might be one of the first articles which they might propose to reform. He could not altogether approve even the decrees respecting residence, and thought it high time to interfere in such a manner as might either secure his prevalence, or suspend their deliberations. He took advantage, therefore, of the sickness of some of the servants of the members of the council, and of the death of one of the bishops, arising most probably from ordinary causes, or from the great degree of dissipation, in which all ranks indulged, to excite apprehensions of the plague, and to break up the council.

<sup>10</sup> Their transactions during this period are all contained in the second book of Father Paul's history; or in the first three chapters of Dupin, book 3, cant. 16.

" Paul Hist. liv. 2. p. 433.

Adjourn-  
ment to  
Bologna.

It was adjourned to Bologna, March 11th, 1547. The imperial or German clergy, however, remained by the emperor's order at Trent, with a few more, making in all eighteen. But they did not even attempt to proceed with any business; they were afraid lest it might be accounted schismatical, or prove the occasion of a schism. On the whole nothing could more clearly prove what had been always asserted by the protestants, that the council so far from being free, was almost entirely dependent on the pope, and governed by his influence.

May 15th,  
1548.

After many and strong remonstrances by the emperor against this translation of the council, and suspension of its business, he boldly assumed the right and power which belonged to him, of legislating for his own government. In the diet of Augsbourg, he published those articles of faith and ecclesiastical discipline called the Interim, because they were modestly proposed to be observed only in the meantime in Germany, until a general council should supersede them, by decrees of superior wisdom and authority. It was so frittered and accommodated, however, to the two great parties in Germany, that, as always happens in similar cases, it pleased neither of them. The doctrines favoured so strongly of catholicism, and especially in the articles of the sacraments, as to be extremely offensive to the protestants; yet they were so much brought down towards the standard of the protestants, as to fill the catholics with resentment and indignation. They were even alarmed at the presumption of the emperor, in intermeddling with either the doctrine or reformation of the church.

They

They were afraid lest, like Henry VIII. in England, he might be recognised as the head of the church in Germany and Spain. The danger of schism appearing very great, it seemed necessary some way to re-unite the bishops remaining still at Trent with those at Bologna. Neither would yield to the other, nor the pope to the emperor. Another danger arose from the decline of the former's health: if Paul III., the reigning pope, should die during the sitting of a general council, it was understood, as in the council of Constance, that the election of his successor belonged to it. In the present divided state of the council, each party, that of Trent and that of Bologna, might claim the authority of the general council, and the right of electing a pope, and two popes might be chosen. The council was therefore declared to be discontinued, and Paul died Nov. 10th, 1549.<sup>12</sup>

The cardinal del Monte, formerly legate, was chosen pope, and was after some time prevailed with to restore the council. It met again at Trent, 1st May 1551. No business, besides forms, was transacted till the following September, when the congregation of divines entered on the consideration of the eucharist. They unanimously condemned those who denied the real presence of the body, blood, and divinity of Jesus Christ in the bread and wine. They were somewhat divided in their opinion respecting the article, whether Jesus Christ be eaten sacramentally; and whether they ought to discuss at all the doctrine of transubstantiation. On

Meets again  
at Trent.

Transub-  
stantiation.

Paul, Hist. liv. 3.

the

the whole; they resolved to hold the doctrine of the church on this subject untouched. They declared themselves unanimously in favour of the adoration of the eucharist. They all were of one opinion, that the consecrated bread ought to be preserved, but they generally disapproved of solitary communion; they affirmed, that the body of Jesus Christ remains in those parts of the eucharist which are unconsumed after communion. They deliberated long on the necessity of communicating in both kinds, and finally resolved, that to affirm it as necessary is heretical. They founded this resolution chiefly on the interview of Jesus with the two disciples at Emmaus, when he blessed the bread only; on the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, where mention is made of bread only; on the 11th and 20th chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, in which the Apostles speak of the bread, without mentioning wine; on the writings of some of the fathers; and on the decision of the council of Constance. The divines of Germany, thought there might be deficiency of communion by bread only; but the Italian divines were of opinion, that as the bread implied the wine, so by concomitancy the whole virtue or grace intended to be conveyed by both, accompanied one of the species. They affirmed faith alone not to be a sufficient qualification for receiving the eucharist; that it ought to be preceded by confession, and received by every christian at Easter.

Of these opinions, seven canons were framed by the prelates, and presented to the council for its sanction, together with eight chapters of doctrines; that while they condemned error, they might

might also instruct men in the truth. Some were desirous, that the decree should declare with precision, that the body of Christ in the eucharist was the very same which was born of the virgin, which suffered on the cross, was buried, raised, ascended, is in Heaven, and will sit in judgment. But the manner in which this body comes into the bread is not so easily explained. The contention of the Dominicans and Franciscans, or Cordeliers, on that subject, will exemplify to us the importance of their deliberations. The former insisted, that in entering into the eucharist or consecrated bread, Jesus Christ does not go from one place to another; but that the substance of the bread is converted into his body, without change of place. The latter, that there is a motion from one place to another, on the consecration of the bread, and its conversion into the body of Christ; yet it is a motion so instantaneous and peculiar, that it occupies the second without deserting the first place. The Dominicans added, that the bread was actually converted into the substance of Christ's body: the Franciscans, that it was not converted into it, but substituted for it: and that it differs from his body in heaven only, in respect of quantity or extension. Is it possible to conceive a more humiliating view of the human intellect, than thus to contemplate men of great talents occupied seriously with such absurdities, chafed too, and violent, because they could not convince, nor submit to one another? The council finally decreed, that the eucharist on consecration becomes, or is transubstantiated into the true body and blood of Christ: that it is enough for the

the laity to receive it in one species : that it has virtue to confer the remission of sins : that it is worthy of latria, or adoration ; and that it ought to be carried to the sick in procession, and with the highest veneration. ”

Of appeals.

The remainder of the year 1551 was occupied chiefly with discussions, and the formation of decrees on episcopal jurisdiction, which in many cases was found oppressive : on appeals as often frivolous and vexatious ; and on clerical degradation, as generally impracticable. Having heard civilians, canonists, and others at great length, the council finally decreed, after exhorting bishops to exercise their jurisdiction with moderation and charity ; that in causes relative to visitation, correction, and incapacity, as well as in criminal causes, there shall be no appeal from the bishop, nor his vicar-general, on any account, before the definitive sentence be pronounced.

That when an appeal is necessary, and the Holy See shall find it necessary to have it tried on the spot, the commission for that purpose may be granted to the metropolitan, or his vicar-general : or if he is suspected of partiality, or too distant, it may be committed to a neighbouring bishop, or his vicar, but to none inferior. That the appellant shall within thirty days produce the original papers, and evidence to the judge, before whom the appeal is brought ; which papers shall be furnished gratis by the judge, from whose sentence the cause is appealed. That the bishop,

“ Paul, *Hist.* tome i. p. 530—548.

or his vicar, may proceed against a clergyman found guilty, even to degradation, without the assistance of other bishops; but in the presence of as many abbots, or inferior clergy, as correspond to the number of bishops usually required on such a solemn occasion. That the bishop, as delegate of the holy see, may summarily alter sentences obtained in their favour by offenders, on false grounds. That a bishop shall not be obliged to obey a summons issued against him, as is often done in resentment, unless when he is actually threatened with deposition, or degradation: that no witness, who is not of good character shall be admitted to give evidence against a bishop; such as bear false or partial witness against him, shall be punished with rigour: that causes in which the bishop is to be tried personally must be brought before the pope, and be concluded finally by him.<sup>4</sup>

The decrees on penitence were generally, that it is a sacrament: that it is different from baptism: that sacramental and auricular confession are necessary to it: that absolution by the priest is essential: that the punishment is remitted in this sacrament, with the offence, by the authority of the keys. Anathemas were added to the canons against all who denied these doctrines. Of penitence.

The decrees on extreme unction were, that it is a sacrament: that it not only comforts the sick, but conveys grace: that it can be administered by a priest only. Let him who denies any of these things be anathema. Extreme unction.

<sup>4</sup> F. Paul Hist. du Concile, l. iv. p. 549.



Jurisdiction  
of bishops.

The council then resumed the subject of reformation, and passed a decree of thirteen chapters respecting the jurisdiction of bishops. That no function, nor dignity in the church, shall be conferred on, or restored to any one contrary to the prohibition or order of the bishop : that titular bishops, though residing in a monastery, or among heretics or infidels, that is, in no diocese, shall have no right to confer orders, or any other privilege, without leave of the bishop, to whom the person proposed for the privilege belongs : that the bishop, on finding such a person ordained, &c. irregularly, and without due qualifications, may suspend him as long as he pleases : that all governors of churches, as delegates of the holy see, shall have power to correct all secular clerks, for their excesses, crimes, and misdemeanors : that letters of conservation shall have no effect in prejudicing or diminishing the bishop's jurisdiction and authority, in any case : that churchmen of every rank and description, shall wear the habits belonging to his peculiar order and office, on pain of suspension ; or if neglect be repeated, on pain of deprivation. That no murderer, or person guilty of voluntary homicide, shall be admitted to holy orders : that no pastor shall intermeddle with strangers, not belonging to his own flock ; either to grant them privileges, or to absolve them from crimes : that benefices in different dioceses shall on no account be united : that regular benefices shall be given to persons only of the order to which they belong, who must accordingly assume the very habit peculiar to that order : that regulars shall remain attached to their own order, and live in their monastery, while they remain subject to their superior : that

no

no person shall acquire any right of patronage, who has it not legally already, but by foundation and endowment : that presentations to a benefice shall be addressed only to the bishop.

The council also condemned as heretics, those who deny that orders is a sacrament : that there is any other than that of the priest, or any clerical degrees : that there is any ecclesiastical hierarchy : that orders can be given without the consent of the people : that there is any visible priesthood : that unction is necessary : that this sacrament conveys the Holy Ghost : that bishops are such by divine right, and have a superiority over priests.

Of orders, as  
a sacrament.

Amidst these transactions, the protestant members from Germany having serious thoughts of attending the council, applied for a safe conduct ; and expressed a desire by their ambassadors, that the council would on their arrival review their decrees, that they might be revised and sanctioned in their presence. The legates instructed from Rome, were prepared to pay them the most courteous attention ; and seemed to accommodate to their every request, yet hoped to evade them. But all of a sudden the council was alarmed by the rapid progress of the arms of Maurice, elector of Saxony, the patron and head of the protestants. Having taken Augsburg from the emperor, on the 3d April, he pushed his army through the Tirol, and was within two hours of surprising and seizing the emperor Charles at Inspruck. Trent was three days march from it ; yet so panic-struck were the members of the council, that they fled in all di-

Council dispersed by the approach of Maurice.

rections. The legate, Cardinal Puteo, was sick : the nuncios, who as less expensive, had been some time ago appointed to supersede the other two legates, and a few bishops remained with him, till they were authorised to suspend the council to a more favourable season.<sup>15</sup>

Again opened.

About ten years intervened betwixt this suspension, and the re-opening of the council, 18th January, 1562. France and Spain had joined the emperor in demanding it, as the only probable remedy for healing and terminating the religious and civil disorders of Europe. The pope was also afraid lest the convention of national councils, should not only supersede the general council, but contribute to sever even the catholic states from their obedience to the see of Rome. The council therefore by a papal bull, read with all the ordinary solemnities, was resumed on the 18th January, 1562. It was the 1st of February, however, before they entered on their proper business. Having agreed to consider the propriety of an index of forbidden books, Lewis Beccatell, archbishop of Ragusa, and Angustin Selvago, archbishop of Genoa, were of opinion that the index of Paul IV. on this subject, being sufficient, it would be only a waste of time to attempt any thing farther.

Index expurgatorius.

St. Felix, bishop of Cava, was of a different opinion : the index or catalogue just mentioned, he said, had been composed by inquisitors, a body of men most obnoxious in Germany, and even in France ; that the prohibition it contained

<sup>15</sup> Hist. du Conc. liv. 4. p. 606. Sleidan b. 24. p. 560.  
was

was too strict and extensive to be practicable. He proposed, therefore, that an examination of books and authors should now be instituted, and conducted by the council, as if it had been never before attempted.

Some thought that heretical books only, and not amusing ones, should be condemned: some proposed to prohibit whatever might be deemed pernicious to the mind, to civil society, and good government: some proposed to leave a work so extensive and laborious to the universities: some were for excepting the Augsburg Confession from the condemned list, because it might prevent the protestants from attending the council. The subject was frequently resumed, a catalogue was prepared, but the council never interposed its sanction. It was, just before the termination of it, finally remitted to the pope to do therein as he thought best.<sup>16</sup>

When it was proposed to renew the consideration of clerical residence, the patriarch of Jerusalem said, that the council had already published decrees on that subject, both denouncing penalties for non-residence, and removing as far as possible impediments in the way of residence. The archbishop of Grenada said, that the best of all remedies had been already proposed, to declare the obligation to reside founded on divine authority, or a divine right: that they had spent ten months in the discussion of this subject; and would have come to a decision on it, if they had not been interrupted by the suspension of the

Of clerical  
residence.

<sup>16</sup> Hist. du Concile, t. 2. p. 660.

council. His opinion was supported by the greater number present. But others insisted, that it was new; that it might occasion a schism, which it was the business of the council not to produce, but to prevent: that though it were decreed, experience proves, that ecclesiastical canons are not observed as strictly as precepts of the decalogue: that Rome and other capital cities, in which there could be no complaint of want of residence were more disorderly than any of the inferior dioceses of Europe, whence the bishops were obliged to be occasionally absent, or some of which had not seen their bishops for a century. The bishop of Ajazzo proposed to prohibit all bishops and pastors from exercising any secular office. This, he said, being the great temptation to non-residence, as soon as it should be removed, every man would of course go home.

But the bishop of Five Churches said, that this was a new doctrine, contrary to the practice of eight hundred years: that prelates had been necessary in the courts and councils of the best and greatest princes of Europe: and that unless it could be proved from Scripture to be sinful, they ought not to withhold their services from the state. At last, after long delay, and frequent discussion, the divine obligation to residence was waived; but the duty was enforced by a new decree, and by additional penalties and precautions.<sup>17</sup>

Ministerium  
vagus,

A long discussion followed, in the congregation

<sup>17</sup> Hist. du Conc. t. 2. p. 160. 537.

of canonists, respecting the ministerium vagum, and other ecclesiastical matters; and in the congregation of divines, concerning communion in both kinds. The opinions of the latter were expressed in these four canons: — If any man shall say, that all the faithful are obliged by divine authority, to receive the communion in both kinds; that it is essential, or that it is an error not to give both; or that shall deny that Jesus is wholly received in the bread alone; or shall say, that the eucharist is necessary to the salvation of little children, let him be anathema.<sup>18</sup>

and communion in both kinds.

The opinions of the canonists were drawn up in a decree, consisting of nine articles or chapters. That orders, letters dismissory or testimonial, and seals shall be given gratis: that to prevent what is called ministerium vagum, no person shall receive holy orders, without being secured in a benefice: that quotidian distributions shall be made in cathedral churches: that assistants shall be provided in large parishes, and a revenue set apart for them: that small benefices in certain cases may be united: that bishops, as delegates of the holy see, may appoint coadjutors, or vicars, and assign them a part of their revenue: that churches, which are so poor that they cannot be kept in repair, may be annexed to the next, or to the mother church or parish, whence it was originally taken: that commendatory monasteries as well as others, and all benefices and cures, shall be visited regularly by the bishop: that the name and office of pardoners or questors shall be abolished, and the duties be performed

<sup>18</sup> Hist. du Conc. t. 2. p. 232.

by the ordinary of the place, viz. to grant indulgences, collect alms, &c.<sup>19</sup>

Proposals of  
reform.

On the 9th of September, 1562, considerable dissatisfaction appeared respecting the arrangement and importance of the subjects proposed for the deliberation and sanction of the council. I have no objections, said Suarez, bishop of Coimbrã, to small matters, when they occupy their own order and place. But let us begin at the head, and proceed from the pope to the cardinals; from the cardinals to the bishops; and from the bishops to the inferior orders. Otherwise, if they persisted in the disorderly and trifling manner, in which they had hitherto conducted what was called reform, they would excite the indignation of the catholics, and expose themselves to the raillery of the protestants.

These hundred and fifty years, said the bishop of Paris, christendom has demanded in vain a reformation of the head and members: it was now time to become serious. In France alone, more had been already done by a national council, than was likely to be done at Trent, for the whole christian church.

The patient shall die among your hands, said the bishop of Segovia; while you, like unskilful physicians, are losing time in the administration of mere lenitives.

Other orators suggested particular abuses and disorders, which required immediate and powerful correctives.

<sup>19</sup> Hist. du Conc. t. 2. p. 233.

All these complaints, however, produced no amendment; the legates maintained their influence, and occupied the council with subjects, which to them appeared most inoffensive and safe.<sup>20</sup> Set aside.

17th September. — Nine articles of a decree, and nine corresponding canons, were framed on the subject of the mass: That the bread, or wafer, to be eaten, is the true and proper body of Christ; is a real sacrifice, and ought as such to be offered to God: that this sacrifice was ordained by Christ, when he said, "Do this in remembrance of me:" that it is not a sacrifice of praise only, but of propitiation; and is profitable not merely to him who receives it, but to others, the dead as well as the living: that it is not derogatory from the virtue of Christ's atonement on the cross: that it ought to be celebrated in honour of saints, and to secure their intercession with God: it is free from error: none of its ceremonies lead to impiety: the priest may lawfully communicate in it alone: he ought to pronounce some of the words in a low voice, and not in the vulgar tongue. These canons were each accompanied with an anathema. The mass.

A decree of reformation followed, in eleven chapters, viz. that all the decrees of the popes and councils for regulating the lives of the clergy shall be observed: that bishoprics shall not be conferred, but on persons, who besides the other qualifications, shall have been in orders at least Decree of reformation.

<sup>20</sup> Hist. du Conc. t. 2. p. 276.



six months before ; and have a certificate from a university, that they are masters of arts, doctors, or licentiates in divinity or law : that the bishops shall set apart a third of the fruits and revenues of all offices belonging to cathedral or collegiate churches : that no person shall have any right to sit and vote in a chapter, who has not been ordained a sub-deacon : that all commissions of dispensation granted out of the court of Rome, shall be addressed to the ordinary : that commutations of wills, or testaments, shall be examined by the bishop before they be executed, in order to see that they have not been obtained fraudulently : that superior ecclesiastical judges, in all appeals which shall come before them, shall observe the constitution of Innocent IV., which begins " Romana : " that bishops shall be executors of all pious deeds, whether of the dead or living ; and shall visit and superintend all hospitals, colleges, and schools, excepting those on royal foundations : that all administrators of ecclesiastical edifices shall be subject to the bishop, and account to him for their intromissions : that all notaries, in like manner, shall be subject to his jurisdiction : that kings and emperors themselves, and all others who may intromit with ecclesiastical property, shall be excommunicated until they make restitution, and obtain absolution from the pope.

From the 23d of September, 1562, to the 11th of July, 1563, the congregations were occupied chiefly with discussions, concerning the divine right of episcopacy ; whether bishops received and held their office of God, or of the pope. As the question involved the papal jurisdic-

dition and supremacy, it was urged on the one hand, and opposed on the other, with great learning and eloquence; and on both sides with infiduousness and firmness: till at last the emperor interposed, by instructing his clergy not to carry the matter any farther. The subject was accordingly dropped, as far as related to the divine right of episcopacy; and a tame decree was issued in general as follows: — That sacrifice, and the priesthood have been always inseparably united: the priesthood of the New Testament was instituted by Jesus Christ, to which he gave all power in his church: that being Divine, it is becoming, and in order that its dignity may be duly maintained, that it be arranged into subordinate ranks, as appears to have been intended in the epistles of the apostles, as well as in the writings of the fathers: that as grace is conferred by ordination, so it is and ought to be held one of the seven sacraments: that the character conveyed by ordination is ineffaceable, and cannot be laid down, nor absolutely taken away, so as that a priest can again ever become a layman.<sup>21</sup>

Priesthood  
divine.

This was followed by a decree of reformation, chiefly to enforce residence; to secure the speedy supply of vacant benefices; the faithful exercise of the trust of granting orders; the due qualification and age of candidates; the public and solemn performance of the duty of granting orders; and the institution and maintenance of seminaries of education, by and near cathedral churches.

There was added, the chapter of the reformation of princes, in twelve decrees, bearing, that

Independ-  
ence of the  
clergy.

<sup>21</sup> Hist. du Conc. t. 2. p. 309. 333.

the

the clergy shall not in any case be judged by secular magistrates: that secular judges shall not intermeddle with ecclesiastical causes, nor appoint judges therein, nor use any undue influence or authority over churchmen in the discharge of their duty: that they shall not intermeddle with vacant benefices, or other ecclesiastical goods: that churchmen shall not be obliged to pay taxes, or subsidies of any kind: that ecclesiastical summonses and sentences shall be freely published and executed.

*Of marriage.*

The subject of marriage having also been long under deliberation, it was decreed, that marriage is one of the seven sacraments: that no man shall have more than one wife at the same time: that the church may either extend the degrees of affinity and consanguinity, beyond what is recorded in the sacred book of Leviticus, or dispense with them: that marriage is not compatible with a religious vow: that divorce in certain cases is lawful: that churchmen in holy orders and regulars cannot contract a marriage: that celibacy is preferable to marriage: that there are certain holy seasons of the year, when no marriage ought to be celebrated: that ecclesiastical men only are competent judges of marriages: that clandestine marriages are lawful, yet have always been detested and forbidden by the church, which hereby ordains the banns to be proclaimed, on three several days; after which, if no objection be offered, the marriage may be celebrated. In certain cases, the banns may be dispensed with by the ordinary.

The two months from the 11th of November, the date of the preceding decrees, till the council  
termi-

terminated, were occupied with deliberations and decrees of regulation respecting churches and monasteries, which were either treated and decreed before, or were more suitable to a bishop's court than a national council. But the pope and the legates were alarmed by the discussions, especially on residence, and the divine right of episcopacy. The session and council therefore were finally concluded. The decrees were subscribed by 4 legates, 2 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 168 bishops, 7 abbots, 39 proctors, or episcopal deputies, and 7 generals of monastic orders.<sup>22</sup>

Conclusion  
of the  
council.

Dec. 1563.

From this rapid sketch of the council of Trent, it appears that nothing was determined respecting the supremacy and infallibility of the pope: whether he was superior or inferior to a general council; or whether he was alone infallible, or merely acting as the organ of the church or general council. His agents had always influence enough, when these subjects were proposed, to prevent them from being deliberated or decided on. Of course they remained as they were left by the council of Constance. But the pope claimed to be the infallible head of the church on earth: and the great body, both of clergy and laity, have tacitly admitted his claim.

The council decreed, however, that the christian faith is founded on Scripture and tradition equally; and that all the canonical and apocryphal books of Scripture are also of equal authority.

Summary of  
doctrines.

That the Vulgate, or Jerome's Latin Transla-

<sup>22</sup> Hist. du Concile, t. 2. liv. 8.

tion,

tion, with some slight alterations, although not absolutely perfect, appeared on the whole the best version of the sacred Scriptures : and they were of opinion, though nothing was absolutely decreed on this, or the preceding article, that the Scriptures were too sacred and venerable to be submitted to common use.

They adopted the Scriptural doctrine of original sin ; declaring that Adam having apostatized and degenerated, became corrupted and mortal, and that he conveyed his guilt and depravity to his posterity.

In the same session, 5th, they asserted, that men cannot save themselves ; that they are justified by the merits of Jesus Christ : that faith is the principle of justification ; yet that it is not meritorious, being itself the gift of God : that justified men are imperfect in this life, but will persevere in improvement unto the end.

That no one ought to presume on his being predestined ; for the real state and character of a man is never certainly known in this life.

They declared that baptism is essential to salvation ; and confers the remission of sins.

That penance or penitence, that is, confession, mortification of the body, and absolution, may recover a man from temporal or ecclesiastical condemnation, but not from eternal punishment.

That good works are necessary to qualify men for inheriting eternal life.

They agreed that there are seven sacraments ; viz. baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage.

That the virtue of the sacrament, is not affected by the character of him who administers it, but by that of him who receives it ; and that it ought

ought not to be administered to those who are excommunicated, or who are guilty of mortal sins.

That in transubstantiation, the bread is actually changed into the body of Christ; and ought in this state to be adored: that the bread implies the wine, and therefore that the latter is unnecessary to be used by the laity: that communion in the eucharist ought to be preceded by confession of sin, and profession of faith: that all Christians ought to communicate at Easter: that the participation of the eucharist confers the remission of sins; and that the host, or consecrated bread, ought to be carried in solemn procession to the sick.

That the mass, or the offering up of the host, or consecrated bread, being the true and proper body of Jesus Christ, is a real sacrifice, not of praise merely, but of propitiation, and is profitable both to the living and dead.

That extreme unction actually conveys grace and consolation to the dying.

That priest's orders, or the act of ordination, confers the Holy Ghost.

That marriage must be celebrated by churchmen, but cannot be entered into by them.

That the saints ought to be worshipped and invoked, as having influence with God.

That images impress strongly the mind with the subject which they represent, and ought therefore to be used in worship.

That the power of indulgences was left by Christ with his church, to be dispensed by his sacred ministers to all whom they should think fit.

These were the principal doctrinal points of which

which they treated : the subjects of government and reformation on which they deliberated and decreed, it seems unnecessary to recapitulate.

*Reflections.*

Such is a general view of the constitution, subjects of deliberation, conduct, and termination of this famous council. It was long, loudly, and generally demanded, by the principal states and churches of Europe. Yet as the prospect of convening it became probable, prejudices appeared against it, mutual jealousies sprung up, the general fear seems to have prevailed, that more evil than good was likely to result from it. Such as were best acquainted with human nature, with the passions, the motives, the disguises, the various workings and violence of the human heart in such assemblies ; with the manner in which a few may over-rule the whole, or in which party-spirit may divide, inflame, and convulse states and churches, were the most averse from attempting to assemble this council, and zealous in their remonstrances against it. It was chiefly urged by those, who did not wish so much that it actually should meet, as that by referring to it, so apparently distant and impracticable, they might evade some other immediate and pressing demand. It was thus the emperor evaded sometimes the claims of the Lutherans ; and the kings of France, the importunities of the Calvinists. But whenever the pope seemed to yield to their joint request, and to name the place of meeting for a general council, all were dissatisfied ; and the sovereign of the city named, alarmed lest tumult and violence might ruin it, remonstrated ; till no place almost could be found willing to receive it. Even after the place  
was

was fixed, the individuals of different nations were afraid to trust themselves without passes, or safe conducts; nor did they place much confidence in these, after they were procured. The least appearance of danger, as when Maurice almost surprised the emperor at Inspruck, dismayed and dispersed them. It was not to be expected in these circumstances, that men would meet freely in great numbers, or from distant regions. Till towards the conclusion when they amounted to 255, they scarcely ever exceeded fifty at one meeting. It was not to be expected, that they would deliberate frankly, and without constraint or violence: that their decisions were to be impartial and wise; or that their canons and decrees, were to be generally respected and obeyed.

In order to be duly respected and obeyed, the canons and decrees of a council would require to be accompanied and enforced every where by the same civil authority and power. Even then the submission to them would be various. In circumstances like those in which the early councils met, as of Nice, A. D. 325, the members were animated by one spirit, and one religious zeal; they belonged to one vast empire, and could call to their aid the support of the same imperial name and power, in whatever quarter they were situated. But the council of Trent was composed of representatives, from many independent states and nations, of opposite interests, of very different tempers, customs, and manners, whose internal constitutions and laws militated in many things against the decrees and canons of this council. Was it to be expected then, that a

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proud people, or a haughty prince, would stoop to the authority and laws of such an assembly, to which they had scarcely deigned to send any representatives? That to their will, they would sacrifice rights, consecrated by time and usage, and advantages the most interesting, secured by statutes and public engagements? As many of the decrees of the council coincided with moral and civil laws, with national consuetude and practice, these might have been, and were in fact, readily received by any of the states; not, however, as judgments of council, but as enforced by a prior and superior authority. The pride of human nature, always will revolt against officious interference, against the presumption of strangers intermeddling with internal and domestic œconomy, or attempting to impose and substitute foreign laws and customs, for native, habitual, and local practices.

This will naturally excite the more indignation and resentment, in proportion as any individual, of whatever rank or station, is observed to assume a superiority denied him, and to employ either arbitrary, or secret, and sinister artifices to accomplish his ends. It was the design, and constant occupation of the pope's legates, in the council to represent and maintain his authority, as paramount not merely to bishops and princes, but to the council itself, though understood as a general council to include them all. To this affectation of supremacy, even some of the Italian bishops opposed themselves with spirit; the Spaniards resented it still more openly in the council; but the Germans and French uniformly resisted the usurpation, or treated it with contempt at all times, and every where.

Granting that the pope were spiritual sovereign of the church, this should give him no civil authority nor power over the state. These two are so naturally blended, that it seems indeed difficult to contemplate them in speculation separately, much more difficult to disunite them in practice. Hence, the tendency of the one, according to its preponderancy, always to in-croach on the other, and the facility with which Constantine at one time, and the popes at another, invaded the one the spiritual, the other the civil and political governments. The council, animated by the papal spirit, blended in many of its decrees, temporal with spiritual restrictions or claims, which frustrated their reception, or nullified their design. Had they been received in France, says Pasquiere<sup>23</sup>, they must have carried along with them necessarily an extreme disorder, and erected a government within a government.

The decrees of the council, even in respect of doctrines, were obnoxious and injurious. Many things had obtained a consuetudinary and general belief during the ages of ignorance and superstitious submission, which retained respect from similar causes, but which causes were defeated by any attempt to define and enforce the doctrines. Then the veil of ignorance was torn, the charm of superstition was broken, the impotence of spiritual authority or temporal power to force belief without evidence, was exhibited in a glaring light. Opinions were magnified into doctrines, which of course were

<sup>23</sup> Liv. iii. ch. 34.

multiplied beyond credence; and men were no longer left to venerate or not, subjects which seemed sacred, because obscure, but were first shown that they were absurd and incredible, and then compelled to receive them as articles of faith and consolation, or anathematized and delivered over to corporal punishment, and to the devil as heretics. If they will have wine as well as bread in the sacrament, is the language of the decrees, if they account the bread in it a figure, and not the real body of Christ, if they shall pray in any other language than the Latin, if they shall pray to God without the mediation of saints, or eat flesh on days forbidden by the church, let them be accursed.

The canons and decrees of the council were least of all obnoxious in Italy. They were framed chiefly by Italian divines and bishops, they were accommodated almost entirely to the customs and manners of that country, which in some way or other was dependent on the pope, or subject to his influence.

Reception of  
the decrees;

The republic of Venice was the first to set the example of submission to the council, and ordered the publication of its decrees over all its dominions.

in Spain,

The king of Poland followed next in order; Spain hesitated for a little to receive decrees, which violated equally the respect due to the authority of kings, and the jurisdiction of bishops. But considering that the objectionable parts might be obviated occasionally as they occurred, by the common and statute laws of the kingdom,  
it

it was agreed to receive the decrees generally both in Spain and the Netherlands.<sup>24</sup>

In Germany, the emperor received them on condition that the pope conceded the cup in the sacrament, or allowed the people the use of wine as well as of bread in the eucharist. But though they were received on this condition readily by the catholics, they were not attempted to be published by order of any diet of the empire, which the protestants would have opposed with violence. Germany,

Many solicitations, much influence, and occasional threatenings were employed to cause the decrees of Trent to be published in France. But a number of different causes rendered them all ineffectual. The Gallican church had always been jealous of her liberty, and of the ambitious encroachments of the pope. She still felt the recent wound inflicted on her independence, by the substitution of the concordat for the pragmatic sanction, and dreaded any new violation of her sovereignty. Besides this ancient sensibility to ecclesiastical freedom among a great body of the catholics, the Calvinists held both the pope and council in abhorrence. These were at first comparatively a small body, and at the time of closing the council of Trent, might have easily been subdued by a strong and steady government; but such was the folly, the weakness, and instability of the last princes of the house of Valois, of the queen-mother, and their general administration, that they first provoked never fully  
in France.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Hist. Appendix, tom. 2. p. 683.

Oct. 1564.

their subjects to rebellion, then trembled; and sometimes fled before them. They would have willingly gratified the pope, but they were afraid of both their catholic and protestant subjects; and after consulting the parliament, declined the publication of the decrees. The emperor, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy now united with the pope in soliciting Charles IX. by their ambassadors in the assembly at Nantes, 25th March 1565, to publish them, and to exterminate the Huguenots. But however willing to consent, he found it necessary to dissemble and decline. He was offered the right of precedence before Spain, and the power of alienating certain ecclesiastical benefices, for supplying the necessities of the state, which at that time were very great, but he could not consent. The faculty of theology of Paris importuned him to receive them with restrictions, such as might secure the liberties of both church and state; but he evaded their importunity, by saying he would do it at a more convenient season. The request was urged by the cardinal of Lorraine, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, with no better success. Henry III. was as zealous a catholic as his brother Charles, but he was also as weak and unstable. The princes of Lorraine, and the catholic league, supported by the king of Spain and the pope, demanded the reception of the decrees, agreeably to the spirit of their treaty at Joinville, 31st December 1584. Various other attempts continued to be made from time to time, during the remainder of this, and of all the subsequent reign. Many of the decrees were in fact received either as rules not inconsistent with the constitution and privileges of the church

church and kingdom, or as already in fact forming the belief and practice of the nation. But the following articles were always firmly resisted as entirely contrary to the liberties and laws of the kingdom.

In session 4th, power is given to bishops to punish the authors and printers of forbidden books, which power belonged to the judges royal. In session 6. c. 1., the right of nominating to bishoprics, vacant in consequence of forfeiture by non-residence, is taken from the king, and given to the pope. In sess. 7. c. 15., sess. 21. c. 7., sess. 22. c. 8., and sess. 25. c. 8., the disposition of hospitals, fabrics, societies, colleges, and schools, with the inspection of accounts and legacies, are taken from the king's courts, and conferred on bishops. In sess. 14. c. 5., the jurisdiction of conservators is suppressed contrary to the authority of parliaments.

In sess. 24. c. 1., the power of judging and punishing the parties and witnesses of clandestine marriages, is taken from the king's courts and granted to bishops. In session 25. c. 9., to them in like manner, in place of the royal judges, is given the cognizance of the right of patronage. In sess. 21. c. 4., the bishops are entrusted with the power of obliging the parishioners to make suitable provision for the curate or parish priest; and c. 8., of sequestering benefices for the reparation of churches. In sess. 22. c. 10., to them, in place of the king's officers, is committed the power of examining and cashiering royal notaries. In sess. 23. c. 6., tonsured clerks, when married, are exempted from lay, and subjected

to episcopal jurisdiction. In sess. 24. c. 8., crimes of concubinage and adultery, are taken from the royal and submitted to episcopal courts. In sess. 25. c. 3., the mendicant friars are permitted, contrary to their fundamental rules, to possess immoveable property: also c. 3., bishops are authorised to proceed against laics by distress of goods or imprisonment; and secular magistrates are prohibited from interfering with a bishop in the execution of any sentence against the people of his diocese: c. 19., kings and princes themselves are declared to be excommunicated, if they shall permit any duel within their dominions: c. 20., the council ordains, that all the papal constitutions in favour of ecclesiastics, shall be executed, however fatal to the revenue or authority of the king: c. 21., it farther ordains, that in all the decrees of the council concerning discipline and manners, nothing shall ever derogate from the authority of the holy See. In sess. 13. c. 8., and 24. c. 5., that all criminal causes respecting bishops, shall be brought and tried, and decided before the pope. In sess. 24. c. 20., the pope is allowed to bring all the causes of ecclesiastics, pending before ordinary judges, to be tried by him. In sess. 7. c. 6., 24. c. 13., and 25. c. 9., the pope is authorised to confirm the union of benefices, though contrary to law, to grant dispensations, and to alter testamentary dispositions. In several different sessions, rights already possessed by bishops are conferred on them as delegates of the holy see; and at the same time the privilege of appeal from the sentences of episcopal courts is abolished and prohibited.

In

In all these cases we see the insatiable ambition of the court of Rome directed against all other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but chiefly directed against the civil and royal authority. Every thing by construction may be withdrawn from the cognizance of municipal judges, and most things of great importance are expressly subjected under the power of the pope and the clergy. Is it at all wonderful then that the wiser clergy, and especially that the laity, who possessed common sense, and some independence of spirit, should revolt from the very idea of submission to such a yoke? This council did not possess even the spirit of the councils of Constance and Basil, who declared and held themselves supreme. This had its decrees dictated by the pope, and was impatient at the conclusion till they were confirmed by him, accounting them, till then, deficient and without authority.<sup>21</sup>

## SECTION II.

THE protestant church in France has been already described, (Book 5. chap. 2., and Book 6. chap. 1.) and some account has been given both of its success, and of the persecutions which it endured. But the following papers being essential documents relative to its foundation and oppression, it seems necessary to transcribe them at full length; the two first from Laval's History of the Reformed Churches in

<sup>21</sup> Paul Hist. Appendix, tom. 2. p. 694-6.

France,



France, volume first, p. 118, and the third from Mathieu Histoire des dernier Troubles de France, tome 1. p. 109 and 138.

*Confession of Faith.*

Huguenot  
confession of  
faith.

1. We believe and we confess, that there is one only God, who is one only, and single essence, spiritual, eternal, invisible, unchangeable, infinite, incomprehensible, unspeakable, almighty, all wise, all good, all just, and all merciful.

2. That God shows himself to such men, first by his works, not only by their creation, but also by their preservation and government; secondly, and more plainly, by his word, which in the beginning having been revealed by way of oracle, has been afterwards set down in writing in the books which we call Holy Scriptures.

3. All this holy scripture is contained in the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, the number of which is as follows: the five books of Moses, viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the first and second books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, the two books of Chronicles, otherwise called Paralipomænon, the first book of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalter or Psalms of David, Solomon's Proverbs or Sentences, the book of Ecclesiastes or the Preacher, the Song of Solomon, the book of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonas, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. The Gospel according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; the Acts, the Epistles of Paul to the Romans, first and second to the Corinthians, to the

the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, first and second to the Thessalonians, first and second to Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, the Epistle of James, the two Epistles of Peter, the three Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, the Revelation of St. John.

4. We know that these books are canonical, and the certain rule of our faith; not so much by the common agreement and consent of the church, as by the inward testimony and persuasion of the Holy Ghost, who makes us discern them from the other ecclesiastical books, upon which, although they be useful, one can form no articles of faith.

5. We believe that the word which is contained in those books proceeded from God, from whom only it takes its authority, and not from men. And for as much as it is the rule of all truth, containing all that is necessary for the service of God, and our salvation, it is not permitted to men, nor even to angels, to add to it, to cut off from it, or to change it. From whence it follows, that neither the antiquity, nor the customs, nor the multitude, nor human wisdom, nor judgment or decrees, nor edicts, nor councils, nor visions, nor miracles, ought to be opposed to the said holy scriptures; but, on the contrary, all things ought to be ruled and reformed by it; and according to that we own the three creeds, viz. of the Apostles, of Nice, and of St. Athanasius, because they are according to the word of God.

6. This holy scripture teaches us, that in that only and single Essence, which we have owned, there are three persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; the Father first cause, principle, and beginning of all things; the Son, his eternal  
word

word and wisdom; the Holy Ghost, his virtue, power, and efficaciousness. The Son eternally begotten by the Father; the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from both. The three persons not being confused, but distinguished; and, nevertheless, not divided, but of one same essence, eternity, power, and equality. And in that we own all that has been determined by the ancient councils, and abhor all sects and heresies which have been rejected by the holy doctors, as St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, St. Ambrosius, and St. Cyril.

7. We believe that God in three persons, co-operating by his incomprehensible virtue, wisdom, and goodness, has created all things, not only the heaven, the earth, and all that is contained therein, but also the invisible spirits, whereof some are decayed and fallen to ruin, the others have persisted in their duty. That the first having been corrupted by wickedness, are enemies to all good, consequently to the church; the others having been preserved by the grace of God, are ministers for glorifying the name of God, and serving to the salvation of the elect.

8. We believe that not only he has created all things, but also that he governs and leads them, disposing and ordering, according to his will, all that happens in the world; not that he is the author of evil, or that the fault may be laid upon him, since his will is the sovereign and infallible rule of all righteousness and equity; but he has wonderful ways to make use of the devils, and wicked men, so that he can turn into good all the mischief which they do, and of which they are guilty. And that in owning that nothing is done without the providence of God, we adhere  
in

in all humility the secrets which are hidden unto us, without inquiring farther than we ought ; but rather let us apply to our use all that is showed us in the holy scriptures, to be in quietness and safety, for as much as God, to whom all things are submitted, watches us with a paternal care, so that a hair of our head shall not fall without his leave ; and in the mean while he keeps under the devils, and all our enemies, so that they cannot hurt us without his leave.

9. We believe that man having been created pure and upright after the image of God, is by his own fault decayed from the favour which he had received, and thus he parted from God, who is the fountain of all good and of all justice ; so that his nature is entirely corrupted ; and being blind in his spirit and depraved in his heart, has lost all integrity without having any left : and though he has yet some discernment of good or bad, nevertheless we say that what light he has turns into darkness, when he must look after God, so that he can by no means come nigh it by his understanding and reason ; and though he has a will by which he is enticed to do this or that, nevertheless he is quite a slave to sin, so that he has no liberty to do good but what is given him by God.

10. We believe that all the offspring of Adam is infected with the like corruption, which is the original sin, and an hereditary vice, and not only an imitation, as the Pelagians will have it, whom we abhor for their errors. And we do not think that it is necessary to enquire how sin comes from one man to another, since it is enough that what God had given him was not for himself alone, but for all his offspring ; and so that in his person

a manner that we do not divest him of his humanity.

16. We believe that God in sending his Son would show his inestimable love and goodness towards us, in delivering him up to death, and raising him again to accomplish all justice, and to procure eternal life unto us.

17. We believe that, by the only sacrifice which the Lord Jesus has offered upon the cross, we are reconciled to God, to be held and reputed just before him; because we cannot be agreeable to him, nor be partakers of his adoption, unless he forgives and obliterates our faults: so we protest that Jesus Christ is our entire and perfect purification; that in his death we have entire satisfaction, to acquit us of the trespasses and iniquities whereof we are guilty, and cannot be delivered but by that remedy.

18. We believe that all our justice consists in the remission of our sins, as also it is our only happiness, as David says, by which we reject all other means of justifying ourselves before God; and without presuming any virtue or desert, we stand singly to the obedience of Jesus Christ, which is allotted to us, as much to cover all our faults, as to make us find grace before God; and indeed we believe that in declining ever so little from this foundation, we could not find rest any where else, but should always be troubled with uneasiness; because we are never in peace with God, until we are fully sure that we are loved by Jesus Christ, since we are worthy of hatred ourselves.

19. We believe that it is by this means that we have the liberty and privilege to worship God with full assurance that he will show himself our  
Father;

Father ; for we should have no access unto the Father, if we were not directed to him by that Mediator ; and we ought to acknowledge that we receive our life from him as from our head, to the obtaining of any thing from God in his name.

20. We believe that we are made partakers of this justice by faith only, as he says, that he suffered to obtain salvation for us, that whosoever believeth in him may not perish ; and that is done, because the promises of life which are given us in him are adapted to our use, and we feel the effect thereof when we accept of them, not doubting that, being assured by the mouth of God, we shall not be frustrated. Thus the justice which we obtain by faith depends upon the gracious promises by which God declares and testifies his love unto us.

21. We believe that we shall be illuminated in faith by the secret grace of the Holy Ghost, and that it is a gracious and particular gift which God bestows upon whom he pleases ; so that the faithful have no occasion to value themselves upon it, being doubly obliged that they have been preferred to others. Even that faith is given to the elect, not only once for all, for to bring them into the right way, but also to make them continue in it unto the end ; for as the beginning is of God, so is the end.

22. We believe that by this faith we are regenerated to a new life, being naturally slaves to sin ; but we receive by faith the grace of living after an holy manner, and in the fear of God, in receiving the promise which is made unto us in the Gospel, viz. that God will give us his holy spirit. Thus faith not only does not cool the

affection and desire of living well, and after an holy manner, but begets and stirs it up within us, bringing forth necessarily good actions. Now though God, to perfect our salvation, does regenerate us, reforming us to do good, nevertheless we own that the good actions which we do by the direction of his spirit, are not reckoned to justify us, or to deserve that God should account us for his children, because we shall always be doubting and uneasy, if our consciences do not rest upon the satisfaction by which Jesus Christ has acquitted us.

23. We believe that all the figures of the law have been abolished at the coming of Jesus Christ; but though the ceremonies are no longer of use, nevertheless the substance and truth remains unto us in the person of him, in whom lies all accomplishment: besides, we must make use of the law and the prophets as much to regulate our lives, as to conform to the promises of the Gospel.

24. We believe that since Jesus Christ has been given for our only advocate, and that he commands us to make our addresses to his Father in his name; and, as it is not even lawful for us to pray, except according to the form which God has dictated in his word, that all which men have imagined about the intercession of the dead saints is nothing else but a deceit and fallacy of the devil, to make men swerve from the right form of prayers. We also reject all other means which men presume to have to redeem themselves towards God, as derogating from the sacrifice of the death and passion of Jesus Christ. Finally, we reckon purgatory to be an illusion, coming forth from the same shop, from whence are also come forth the monastical vows, pilgrimages, prohibitions

tions of marriage and of the use of meats, the ceremonial observation of days, the auricular confession, the indulgences, and all other such things, by which one thinks to deserve forgiveness and salvation; which things we reject, not only for the false opinion of the merit which is a consequence of it, but also because they are human inventions, which lay a yoke upon consciences.

25. Now, because we can enjoy Jesus Christ only by the Gospel, we believe that the order of the church which has been established in his authority ought to be sacred, and not to be violated; and therefore that the church cannot subsist, unless there be pastors which have the office of teachers, who must be honoured and hearkened unto with respect, when they are duly called, and fulfil their office faithfully: not that God should be bound to such inferior means or helps, but because he is pleased to keep us under such restraint, by which we detest all fantastical persons, who would as much as possible abolish the preaching of the word and sacraments.

26. We believe, therefore, that no man ought to separate himself, and think his private devotion sufficient, but altogether ought to keep the unity of the church, submitting to the common instruction, and to the yoke of Jesus Christ, and that in whatsoever place where God shall have established the true order of his church, notwithstanding the oppositions of magistrates and of their edicts; and that all those who do not submit to it, or depart from it, are averse from the ordinance of God.

27. Nevertheless we believe that it is proper to discern carefully and prudently which is the true church,



church, because that title is too much abused : we say, therefore, according to the word of God, that it is the assembly of the believers, who agree to follow the said word, and the true religion that depends upon it, and who improve in the same all their lifetime, increasing and confirming themselves in the fear of God, as they are obliged to advance and improve every day, to whom, even though they do their endeavours, it is convenient for them to have recourse, to the forgiveness of their sins ; nevertheless we do not deny that amongst the faithful there are hypocrites and reprobates, the wickedness of whom cannot deface the title of the church.

28. In that belief we protest, that where the word of God is not received, and where they do not profess to submit to it, and where, speaking properly, there is no use of the sacraments, one cannot judge there is any church. Wherefore we condemn the assemblies of the popedom, since the plain truth of God is banished from them ; in which assemblies the sacraments are corrupted, adulterated, falsified, or entirely abolished, and in which all manner of superstition and idolatry are entirely in vogue. Wherefore we believe that all those who partake in such actions, and communicate unto them, separate and cut off themselves from the body of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, because there remains some little mark of a church in the popedom, and even that the substance of baptism is retained in it, and forasmuch as the efficaciousness of baptism does not depend on him who administers it, we own that they who are baptised in it do not want a second baptism. Nevertheless, because of the corruptions which are in it, one cannot, without polluting one's self, stand godfather there.

29. As to the true church, we believe that it ought to be governed according to the policy which our Lord Jesus Christ has established; that is, that there be pastors, elders, and deacons; that the pure doctrine may have its course; that vices may be corrected and repressed, and that the poor and all other afflicted persons be succoured in their necessities: and that all the assemblies be made in the name of God, in which both great and small may be edified.

30. We believe that all true pastors, in whatsoever place they be, have the same authority and an equal power, under one only chief, only sovereign, and universal bishop, Jesus Christ; and, for that reason, that no church ought to pretend sovereignty or lordship over another.

31. We believe that no man ought to intermeddle of his own authority to govern the church; but that ought to be done by election as much as possible, and as God permits: which exception we add especially, because it has been necessary sometimes, and even in our days, in which the state of the church was interrupted, that God should have raised men of an extraordinary sort, to reform the church, which was gone to ruin and desolation. But, howsoever, we believe that one must always conform to this rule, that all pastors, elders, and deacons may have a testimony of being called to their office.

32. We believe also, that it is good and useful that they who are elected to be chief overseers, do advise among themselves what rule they shall observe to govern the whole body; but in such a manner, that they do not swerve from what Jesus Christ has ordered us on that subject: which does not hinder that there be some particular

ticular rules in each place, according to what the circumstances shall require.

33. Nevertheless we exclude all human inventions; and all laws which one would introduce under pretence of worshipping God, by which one would bind the consciences: but we receive only that which is done, and is proper to entertain peace and concord, and keep every one in obedience: in which we ought to follow what our Lord Jesus Christ has declared concerning the excommunication which we approve of, and we confess that it is necessary with all its consequences.

34. We believe that sacraments are added to the Word for a greater confirmation, to be pledges and tokens of the grace of God, and by that means to help and comfort our faith, because of the infirmity which is in us; and that they are outward signs, by which God works in us the virtue of his Spirit, that they should represent nothing in vain: nevertheless we hold that all their substance and truth is in Jesus Christ, and if they are parted from him, they are nothing else but shadow and smoke.

35. We own only two sacraments common to all the church; whereof the first, which is baptism, is given us for a testimony of our adoption, because that by this means we are grafted in the body of Christ, to be washed and cleansed by his blood, and afterwards to be renewed in holiness of life by his Holy Spirit. We hold likewise, that though we are baptised but once, the profit which is signified unto us by this means reaches unto life and death, that we may have an everlasting pledge that Jesus Christ shall always be for us justice and sanctification. Now, though it  
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be a sacrament of faith and repentance, nevertheless, because God receives in his church the little children with their parents, we say that by the authority of Jesus Christ the little children begotten by the faithful ought to be baptised.

36. We own that the holy communion, which is the second sacrament, is a testimony to us of the unity which we have with Jesus Christ, forasmuch as he is not only dead and risen again once for us, but likewise feeds us truly with his flesh and blood that we may be one with him, and that his life may be common unto us. Now though he is in heaven until he shall come to judge all the world, nevertheless we believe that by the secret and incomprehensible virtue of his spirit, he nourishes and revives us with the substance of his blood and body. We are sure that that is done spiritually, not with a design of putting, instead of the effect and truth, any imagination or thought; but forasmuch as that mystery, in its height is above the reach of our understanding, and all the order of nature; in one word, because it is celestial, it cannot be attained to but by faith.

37. We believe, as it has been said, that as much in the communion as in baptism God gives us really and truly that which is signified by them; and therefore we join together with the signs the true possession and enjoyment of that which is presented to us by this means. And thus all those who bring to the holy table of Jesus Christ a faith pure like a clean vessel, receive truly what the signs signify, that the body and blood of Christ are not less meat and drink to the soul, than the bread and wine are to the body.

38. So we say that though the water is but a perishable element, yet it shews us in truth the inward ablution of our soul in the blood of Jesus Christ, by the efficacy of his holy spirit ; and that the bread and wine given unto us in the holy supper are truly for us a spiritual food, because they represent to us that the flesh of Jesus Christ is our meat, and his blood our drink : and we do reject the fantastical sacramentarians, who refuse to receive such signs and tokens ; since our Lord Jesus says, " This is my body, and this cup is my blood."

39. We believe that the will of God is that the world should be governed by laws and policy, to the end that there should be some bridle to repress the unruly appetites of men ; and, as he has established kingdoms, commonwealths, and every other sort of principalities, either hereditary or otherwise, and every thing that belongs to the state of justice, and that he will be accounted the author of them. To that end he hath put the sword into the magistrates' hands to repress the sins, not only those perpetrated against the second table of God's commandments, but likewise against the first. We must, then, for his sake, not only endure that the superiors should have dominion and rule over us, but likewise honour and esteem them in all reverence, accounting them to be his lieutenants and officers, whom he has set to exercise a lawful and holy office.

40. We hold, then, that we must obey their laws and statutes, pay all tributes, taxes, and other duties, and bear the yoke of subjection with a good and free will, even though they should be infidels, provided that the sovereign  
empire

empire of God remain whole. Thus we abhor those that would reject the superiorities, make the goods common, put every thing in a confusion, and overturn the order of justice.

*Articles of the Ecclesiastical Discipline.*

1. No church shall pretend to principality or lordship one over the other.

2. A president in each colloquy or synod shall be chosen with a common consent, to preside in the colloquy or synod, and to do every thing that belongs to it; and the said office shall end with each colloquy or synod, and council.

3. Each minister shall bring with him to the synod one elder or deacon of his church, or several.

4. In the general synods, assembled according to the necessity of the churches, there shall be a brotherly and friendly censure of all those that assist there; after which the communion of our Lord Jesus Christ shall be celebrated.

5. That the ministers, with one elder or deacon at least, of each church, in one province, shall assemble twice a year.

6. That the ministers shall be chosen in the consistory by the elders and deacons, and shall be presented to the people they shall be ordained for, and if there be any opposition the consistory must judge of it; and in case there be any discontent from one side or the other, the matter shall be brought before the provincial synod, not to constrain the people to receive the minister elected, but for his justification.

7. That ministers shall not be sent from the other churches without authentic letters; and without

Huguenot  
rules of discipline and  
government.

without them, or due inquiry, they shall not be admitted.

8. Those who shall be elected shall sign the confession of faith, not only in the churches where they shall be elected, but likewise in those to which they shall be sent; and the election shall be confirmed by prayers, and the laying on of the hands of the ministers, nevertheless without any superstition.

9. The ministers of one church shall not preach in another without the consent of its minister, or of the consistory in his absence.

10. Whosoever shall have been chosen for any church, shall be solicited and exhorted to accept of it, but not constrained. The ministers who cannot serve the church for which they had been ordained, if they be sent any where else, by the advice of the church, and should refuse to go, they shall tell the reasons of their refusal to the consistory, and there it shall be judged if it shall be acceptable; and if they be not, and that they should persist in their refusal, in that case the provincial synod shall judge of it.

11. Whosoever shall intrude himself, although he be approved of by his congregation, shall not be approved of by the neighbouring ministers, or others, if there be any dispute about his approbation from any other church; but before going any farther, the provincial synod shall be assembled as soon as possible to decide the case.

12. They who shall be once ordained for the ministry of the word, must understand that they are ordained to be ministers all their life-time.

13. And as to those who are sent for some time, if it happens that the churches cannot otherwise provide for the flock, it shall not be permitted

permitted them to leave the church, for which Jesus Christ suffered.

14. In the case of too great a persecution, one may make a change from one church to another for a while, with the consent of both churches; the like may be done for other just reasons, which shall be referred to the provincial synod and judged by it.

15. Those who shall teach a bad doctrine, and who after having been warned of it, shall not desist from it; those likewise who shall be of a scandalous life, deserving to be punished by the magistrate, or to be excommunicated, or shall be disobedient to the consistory, or otherwise incapable, shall be deposed.

16. As to those who through old age, sickness, or such other inconveniency, should become incapable of discharging their office, the honour shall remain unto them, and they shall be recommended to their flock for a maintenance, and another shall be elected in their stead.

17. The scandalous vices, and those which are punishable by the magistrate, causing great scandal to the church, committed in any time whatsoever, when they were in ignorance, or since, are sufficient causes for deposing a minister. As to the other vices less scandalous, they shall be referred to the prudence and judgment of the provincial synod.

18. The deposition shall be made without delay by the consistory, in case of great crimes, two or three pastors being called for that purpose; and in case of complaint about the testimony, or of calumny, the fact shall be referred to the provincial synod.

19. The reasons of the deposition shall not be declared



declared to the people, unless necessity requires it, of which the consistory shall judge.

20. The elders and deacons are the senates of the church, to which the ministers of the word are presidents.

21. The office of the elders shall be to assemble the people, to report the scandals to the consistory, and other such things, according as there shall be a form set down by writing in each church; according to the circumstances of the places and times; and the office of elders, according as it is now settled among us, is not perpetual.

22. As to the deacons their office shall be to visit the sick, the poor, and the prisoners, and to go in the houses to catechise.

23. The office of the deacons is not to preach the word of God, nor to administer the sacraments, though they may help to it; and their office is not perpetual, which nevertheless, neither they nor the elders can forsake without the leave of their respective church.

24. In the absence of the minister, or when he is sick, or has some impediment, the deacon may say prayers, and read some sentence of the scripture, without any form of sermon.

25. The deacons and elders shall be deposed for the same reasons as the ministers of the word, in their respective quality; and having been condemned by the consistory, if they appeal, they shall be suspended until the case be determined by the provincial synod.

26. The ministers or others of the church shall not cause any book to be printed or otherwise published, composed by them; or others concerning religion, without the approbation of two or three ministers of the word, not suspected.

27. The

27. The heretics, the despisers of God, the rebels against the consistory, the traitors against the church, those who are attainted and convicted of crimes worthy of corporal punishment, and those who should cause great scandal to all the church, shall be excommunicated and cut off, not only from the sacraments, but likewise from the assemblies. And as to the other crimes, it shall be referred to the prudence of the church to take cognisance of those who ought to be admitted to the hearing of the word, after having been deprived of the sacraments.

28. Those who shall have been excommunicated for heresy, contempt of God, schism, treason or rebellion against the church, and other such scandalous vices, their excommunication, and the causes of it, shall be notified to the people.

29. As for those who shall be excommunicated for lesser faults than those above, it shall be left to the discretion of the governors of the church, to consider if it is proper to give notice of it to the people or not, till the next general synod has fully determined the point.

30. Those who being excommunicated shall desire to be reconciled to the church, shall petition personally the consistory for it, which will judge of their repentance; if their excommunication has been public, they shall do public penance, but if it has been a private one, their penance shall be private.

31. Those who shall have made abjuration in the times of persecution, shall not be admitted in the church, unless they do public penance.

32. In times of cruel persecution, war, plague, famine, or other great affliction; item, when there

there shall be some ordination or election of ministers, and when there shall be a synod, there shall be a day appointed for public and extraordinary prayers, with fasting, nevertheless without any scruple or superstition.

33. The marriages shall be proposed to the consistory, where shall be brought the marriage contract, made by a public notary, and they shall be published twice at least in a fortnight; after which time the marriage may be celebrated in the assembly: and that order shall not be broken unless it be for great reasons, of which the consistory shall take cognizance.

34. Both the marriages and the baptisms shall be recorded and carefully kept in the church, with the names of the fathers, mothers, and godfathers of the children baptised.

35. Concerning consanguinity and affinity, the faithful may not contract a marriage with any body from whence a great scandal may arise, of which the church shall take cognifance.

36. Those whose wives shall be convicted of adultery shall be exhorted to reconcile themselves with them; if they refuse to do it, the liberty which they have by the word of God shall be declared to them; but the churches shall not dissolve the marriages that they may not incroach on the authority of the magistrate.

37. Young people under age cannot contract a marriage without the consent of their parents; nevertheless when they shall have parents so unreasonable that they refuse their consent to a profitable and holy thing, the consistory may decide it.

38. The promises of marriage lawfully made cannot be dissolved, not even with the mutual consent of those who shall have made them; of which

which promises, if they be lawfully made, the consistory shall take cognisance.

39. No church can do any thing of great consequence, wherein the interest or damage of the other churches might be comprised, without the advice of the provincial synod, if it is possible to assemble it. And if the case be urgent, it shall be communicated to the other churches of the province, and receive their advice at least by letters.

40. These articles which are above contained concerning the discipline, are not so far agreed upon amongst us, but that if the advantage of the church should require it they may be changed; but it shall not be in the power of any private person to do it, without the advice and consent of a general synod.

Thus signed in the original: "Francis de Morel, chosen to preside in the synod, in the name of all. Made at Paris the 29th of May, A. D. 1559, in the reign of king Henry."

Founded on these articles of doctrine and discipline, the reformed church in France rapidly increased and flourished long before the end of the century. Towards the conclusion of the reign of Henry III. her members were computed to amount to more than two millions of souls. Many edicts had been published both for them, and against them; the favourable edicts were chiefly those of July and January 1561, and those of 1563, 1568, 1570, 1573, 1576, 1577, 1579, 1580. The substance of the last, which was done Nov. 26th, 1580, at Fleix, and published at Paris, January 26th, 1581, is not very materially different.

different from the preceding at Bergerac, Poitiers, Nerac, &c.<sup>1</sup> While it re-established the catholic religion in those places where it had been discontinued, and ordained seditious persons of both religions to be prosecuted, it allowed all those of the reformed religion, of what condition or quality soever, "to live, and safely to inhabit in all the cities and parts of the kingdom, without being disturbed or prosecuted on account of the said religion under any pretence whatever."

But these edicts, though solemn treaties, the result of national conferences, confirmed by oath, and declared, especially some of the last of them, to be perpetual and irrevocable, were no sooner made, generally, than they were violated, either by the fickleness of the court, the wantonness of magistrates, or the policy and zeal of the League, which impelled them to the most unreasonable hostility and violence.

The nature and policy of the king, Henry III., were in this respect at variance. He was humane if not generous and accommodating, but as a catholic he was bigotted, and as a king he preferred what appeared to him the strongest party. Hence he was induced, sometimes by religion and sometimes by politics, to frame and publish the most severe and intolerant edicts against the reformers, in the execution of which his mind relented. These were numerous, according to the frequent change of circumstances in the course of his reign, but an idea of them may be formed from those of July 1585 and 1588,

<sup>1</sup> Laval, Hist. of the Reform. vols. 1, 2, 3 *passim*, and 4. p. 300—318.

which

which are the more remarkable because they were adopted by the king and the states at Blois, and were considered by many as nearly equal to the admission of the decrees of the council of Trent.\*

When Henry saw, July 1585, that he had no other way of evading the power of the League, he subscribed the following articles at Nemours, and declared himself head of the League, for the express purpose of preserving and maintaining the catholic religion, which deeds he repeatedly confirmed by the most solemn oaths to be perpetual and irrevocable, and in which solemn acts he was joined by his catholic subjects, declaring that they would employ their property and lives for the extirpation of heresy from the kingdom.

That after the decease of his present majesty, they never would receive nor submit to any prince who was himself a heretic, or who favoured heresy, whatever might be his right or pretension.

That they would defend and preserve his present majesty the king's person, his state and crown, and authority, and those of his children, if any he should have, against all mortals.

That they would in like manner preserve and defend all, and especially the princes of the blood royal, who might join in this holy League against the heretics and their abettors whatever.

That they would separate and withdraw themselves from every other union or association,

\* Davila, book 8. p. 281. 353. Paul, Hist. de Conc. de Tr. Append. Mathieu, Hist. liv. 3. p. 109. and 138.

domestic or foreign, contrary to the spirit and design of this League.

That his majesty promises and swears to observe this League, and to cause it to be observed over all the kingdom, by all ranks, officers and professions.

That in order to execute this engagement effectually, his majesty shall raise and discipline armies adequate, which shall be dispatched one into Poitou and Saintonge, and another into Dauphiné.

That the decrees of the council of Trente shall, with all convenient speed, be published in the kingdom, *without prejudice however to the right and authority of the king, and the liberties of the Gallican church*, at least within three months.

That in security of the performance of the present articles, the cities named in the treaty of Nemours, and especially the city of Dourlans, shall be put into the hands of the heads of the League for four years, besides the two years then specified.

That these cities shall certainly be restored to his majesty after the expiration of six years.

That the governors of these cities, and their successors, shall be nominated or approved by the heads of the League.

That at the expiration of that time they shall be restored in as good condition at least as they were received. That the city and citadel of Valence shall be committed to the Sieur de Gefsans for his majesty; and Cottoy to the Sieur de Belloy.

That his majesty shall take the command of the city of Boulogne from Bernet, and give it to a gentleman of the county of Picardy, on which  
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the heads of the League shall withdraw their forces from its neighbourhood.

That such cities as shall declare themselves for the League shall enjoy the protection of the king without any other alteration.

That such governors and commanders as have been dismissed since the 12th May, shall be restored to the charges which they then held; and the garrison introduced into them since that time shall be dismissed.

That the goods of heretics shall without farther delay be confiscated and sold; and that his majesty shall be furnished with more ample supplies to enable him to prosecute the war against them with vigour.

That for this end the regiments of St. Paul and Sacremore shall be kept embodied, and be paid as the other regiments in the service; and when in garrison in the provinces they shall receive pay extraordinary for at least four months in the year.

That the garrisons of Thoul, Verdun, and Marfa shall be treated as those of Metz.

That the companies of ordnance in the service of the League shall be now also employed and paid as those of the king.

That the provost and sheriffs of the city of Paris shall resign their offices into the hands of his majesty, and shall receive said offices from him again till August next, and for two years more from that date.

That Bricard, his majesty's procurator, having also resigned his office, shall receive it back, and be continued in it till August 1590, during which time Perrot shall receive the salary which



the city usually pays, besides the ordinary pension from the king.

That the Bastille shall be put into the hands of his majesty.

That the king shall chuse a person to be captain of the guard who shall be acceptable to the city.

That the magistrates, counsellors, and military officers in the service of the League shall resign their respective charges into the hands of the king, to be reinvested by him immediately in these offices.

That all prisoners made since the 12th May, shall be set at liberty without ransom.

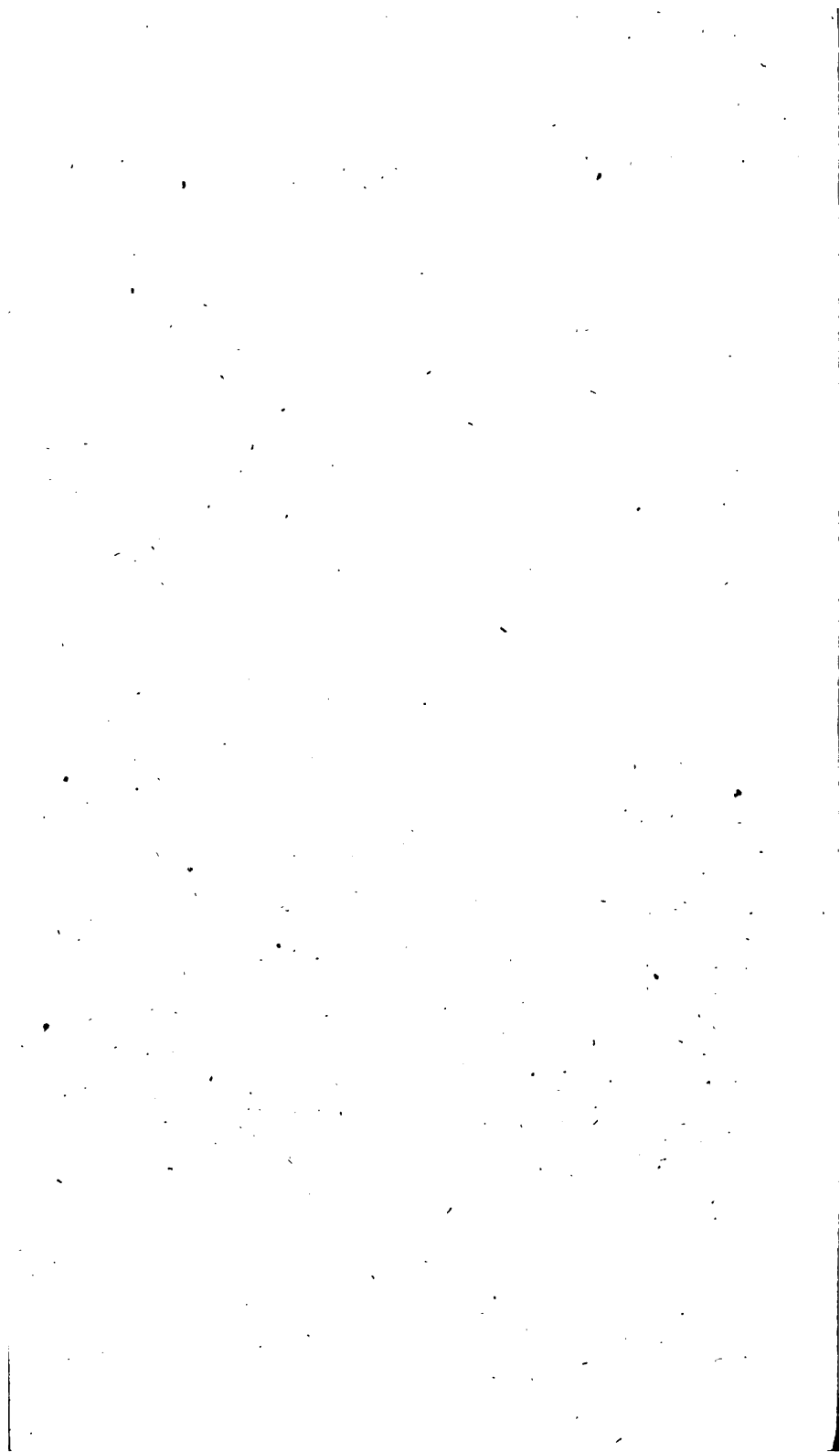
That the artillery and other instruments of war, taken since the above period, shall be restored.

That after concluding this treaty, any one of whatever rank or condition, attempting any violence against any of the cities or places delivered up to his majesty, shall be accounted rebels, and treated accordingly.

Which edict, verified in the parliament of Paris the 21st of July, bears farther, that his majesty according to his coronation oath, will live and die in the catholic religion, and will employ all his life and power to preserve and maintain it, and to extirpate heresy; that he will never make peace nor truce with a heretic, or one who favours heresy; on the contrary, that he will embrace and countenance their adversaries who are leagued against them; that he shall appoint no person to any office of justice, nor in the state, but a catholic; that all the subjects in the kingdom shall be sworn to withdraw, and

abide from heretical associations and communications, to support and assist one another against the oppressions and violence of heretics, and to contribute both by their personal services and property to the maintenance of the king's authority and government, in order to promote and secure these ends; and every one is hereby declared guilty of treason who shall refuse to subscribe this league. But an amnesty is at the same time extended to all of the league who may have hitherto carried arms against the king, or any way opposed him, provided that it shall be made appear that it was in zeal for the maintenance of the catholic religion.

In the meeting of the states of Blois, 18th October 1588, the king having called for the above edict, ordered it to be read, and declared that it shall constitute one of the fundamental and irrevocable laws of the kingdom; and in order to give it the more solemnity, he commanded the archbishop of Bourges to pronounce an address to the assembly on the occasion, and in the most impressive manner possible, to administer the oath for the maintenance and execution of the above edict. He then commanded them all to stand up, and the king having sworn first, all the rest did it with one voice, the ecclesiastics laying their hands on their breasts, and all the rest raising their hands towards heaven. The whole ceremony was concluded with a procession, and the performance of *Te Deum laudamus* in thanksgiving.



## CHAP. III.

The History of Civil Government in France, from the Death of Francis I., 1547, to the Death of Henry III., 1589.

## SECT. I.

*Of the Ranks of Men.*

IT is always extremely difficult to ascertain <sup>Population.</sup> accurately the population of a country, even when the people are regularly polled or enrolled, much more when no such enumeration has been made, and when we are left to conjecture from relative circumstances. One account of Paris in the year 1562, states the number of houses at sixteen thousand, which, at the average of five souls to each, gives but eighty thousand souls then in that city.<sup>1</sup> Another asserts the number to be above two hundred thousand in the year 1588.<sup>2</sup> The number of a metropolis will fluctuate greatly betwixt summer and winter, by occasional influxes or emigrations; and will increase sometimes most rapidly in the space of twenty-six years. But we can scarcely reconcile these two accounts by any casual circum-

<sup>1</sup> Garnier, Hist. t. 29, p. 452. <sup>2</sup> Esprit de La Ligue, t. 3.

stances, or ordinary process of population. In 1577 there were, it is said, three millions of hearths in France, which, reckoning five to each, will give only fifteen millions. But we are not certain whether hearth and house are to be understood as synonymous, or whether, counting all the hearths in a house, families were to be rated according to the number of hearths, or lodging apartments in their houses, in order to raise a poll-tax on the whole, amounting to twenty millions of livres.<sup>3</sup>

Lower  
ranks.

The people, though no longer slaves, were still held in a very degraded and dependent state by the nobles. During the civil wars, however, when their personal aid and courage were of so great importance, and so frequently requested and importuned, they began to rise both in their own and in the general estimation. But if they improved in one respect, their personal property, rights, and comforts suffered severely in another; armies inflamed by mutual prejudices and resentments, almost every year, or oftener, traversing the provinces, did not regard nor spare either the peasantry or the inhabitants of the villages. They must often have been reduced thus to the lowest state of adversity and wretchedness. Some towns might acquire immunities, others were disfranchised or ruined.

Nobles.

From hints in the memoirs of this period, we learn that there were nobles who lived retired, and endeavoured as far as it was possible

<sup>3</sup> Mem. de Nevers, t. 1.

to remain neutral, amidst the fierce contests of the several parties. They not only paid contributions for their neutrality, frequently to both parties, but they were under the necessity of keeping a considerable body of vassals always near them, and on emergencies ready armed within their castles, which were strongly secured, and generally surrounded with walls, ditches, and palisades. Many of the nobles could suddenly arm and maintain for a few weeks, from one hundred to a thousand men, sometimes the chief part of them cavalry. A few of these waiting on the king at Paris, must have greatly augmented the population of that city. Many of them avoided this parade, but others were ostentatious, and ambitious of the favour or the offices of the court.

The first and highest officers were his majesty's confidential ministers, the grand master, constable, or lieutenant-general of France, for nearly the same office was held under these different names. When the duke of Guise wanted to be created constable, 1588, he was only appointed grandmaster, because the office of constable was thought too great and dangerous a power at that critical period.

Ministers  
of state.

The next in rank was the keeper of the seals, held by monsieur de Monthelon, at the time to which I refer. He sat in the assembly of Blois next to the duke of Guise, who sat next to the princes of the blood royal, under the throne.

The office of chamberlain of France was then held by the duke of Mayenne.

Then

Then followed the mareschals of France, six or eight of them, or seats for them, for none of them appear to have been present.

Of the secretaries of state two only, M. Ruzé de Beaulieu, and M. de Revol.

The gentlemen of the household: the first gentlemen of the king's chamber, Bellegarde, archbishop of Lyons, and M. Legnac: M. Miron, first physician to the king, and Messieurs Escars, de Souvray, and d'O; the three commanders of the recently instituted order of the Holy Ghost.

Next to these were the counsellors of state, of the long robe and short robe, or of the law and army, as the king's advocate of the parliament of Paris, the intendant of finances, the procurator general; the military secretaries and commanders of armies, &c. as Schomberg, Nanteuil, Chastre, Grillon, &c. &c.; then the secretaries of requests, and other inferior officers of the crown and household.<sup>4</sup>

The power of these fluctuated not only with the energy of the monarch and government, but with the individuals who filled the offices for the time. Hence their occasional and mutual incroachments excited jealousies and resentments, or if no checks prevented, they sometimes melted and run considerably into one another, according to the indolence and activity, the indifference and ambition, and zeal of the occupants.

<sup>4</sup> Mathieu, Hist. t. 1. p. 124—6.

There

There is no doubt that the power of the king <sup>The king.</sup> during this period was very absolute. Peace and war, taxes, offices, and it may be added, persons were directed and disposed of according to his will. Not only were the edicts, and ordinances or laws, framed according as he prescribed, or at least, not in opposition to his orders, but he superseded, and suspended, and abolished them as he chose.

"Your duty is to obey my orders," said Charles IX. to his parliament of Paris, almost when a child; "presume not to examine what they are, but obey them. I know better than you what consuetude and expediency<sup>5</sup> require." Nor was this the mere effect of boyish briskness and petulance, it was the spirit which uniformly animated the kings of the house of Valois, for which reference might be made, with scarcely an exception, to all the historians of their times.

The smallest suspicions of treason, heresy, or sorcery; was a sufficient ground of imprisonment or death. A trial might be interposed, but it was merely for the sake of form. The judges feared the king more than they respected the principles and rules of justice. Or if they resisted, as the parliament of Paris sometimes dared to do, they were themselves imprisoned. Special courts were sometimes named and appointed, as by Henry II., to try the arrested members of the parliament of Paris; by Francis II. for trying heretics; and by Charles IX. for trying the prince of Condé.

<sup>5</sup> Brantôme, t. 4. Laboureur sur Castelnau, t. 3.



These princes, and especially Henry III., were no less arbitrary with respect to the property of their subjects. Near forty edicts were published by him for raising money, within a short period one after another; and when these were ineffectual, he resorted to forced loans.<sup>6</sup>

States-general.

The states-general might have afforded some restraint on the absolute power of the king, if they had ever united with firmness and perseverance. They were assembled repeatedly during this period, particularly in 1560, 1576, 1588. But they were packed beforehand, especially in 1588, and means were employed during their sittings, if they seemed to coalesce again, to disunite them, or finally to dissolve and disperse them. The defect of liberty and power, however, must have been in the states themselves, if we consider their number, and the extent and distance of country whence they were assembled, as well as the different ranks of which they were composed. It may gratify curiosity to enumerate the cities and districts which sent deputies to the meeting, for example, of the states-general 1588, at Blois. The proportion from each is not mentioned, but the following is the order in which the deputies were called, and seated in the assembly.

1. The city, prévosté, and vicomté of Paris.
2. The duchy of Burgundy and bailliage of Dijon.

<sup>6</sup> Sully, t. i. Thuani Lib. 86. *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist.* 99.

3. The

3. The duchy of Normandy and bailliage of Rouen.
4. - - - - - Caen.
5. - - - - - Caux.
6. - - - - - Constantin.
7. - - - - - Evreux.
8. - - - - - Gisors.
9. - - - - - Alençon.
10. - - - - - Mortaing.
11. The duchy of Guienne, seneschauffee of Bourdeaux.
12. - - - - - Bazac.
13. - - - - - Perigord.
14. - - - - - Rouergue.
15. - - - - - Saintonge.
16. - - - - - Agenois.
17. - - - - - Comminges.
18. - - - - - Launes.
19. - - - - - S. Sener.
20. - - - - - Condunois.
21. - - - - - Upper Limosin.
22. - - - - - Limoges.
23. - - - - - Lower Limosin.
24. - - - - - Quercy.
25. The duchy of Bretany and its dependencies.
26. The county of Champagne, bailliage of Troye.
27. - - - - - Chaumont.
28. - - - - - Vitry.
29. - - - - - Meaux.
30. - - - - - Provins.
31. - - - - - Sefanne.
32. - - - - - Sens.
33. - - - - - ChateauThierri.
34. The county of Thouloufe and government of Languedoc.
35. Senef-

35.	-	-	Seneschauffee of Thoulouſe.
36.	-	-	- Puy.
37.	-	-	- Bailliage of Valay.
38.	-	-	- Montpellier.
39.	-	-	Seneschauffee of Carcaſſonne.
40.	-	-	- Narbonne.
41.	-	-	- Beziers.
42.	-	-	- Lauragais.
43.	-	-	- Vermandois.
44.	-	-	- Poictou.
45.	-	-	- Chattelraut.
46.	-	-	- { Fontenay and Nivet.
47.	-	-	- Anjou.
48.	-	-	- Maine.
49.	-	-	- Bailliage of Touraine.
50.	-	-	- Amboiſe.
51.	-	-	Seneschauffee of Loudunois.
52.	-	-	- Bailliage of Berry.
53.	-	-	- { St. Pierre le Moutier.
54.	-	-	Seneschauffee of Bourbonnois.
55.	-	-	- Bailliage of Foreſts.
56.	-	-	- Beaujolois.
57.	-	-	Seneschauffee of Lower Auvergne.
58.	-	-	- Bailliage of High Auvergne.
59.	-	-	Seneschauffee of Lyons
60.	-	-	- Bailliage of Chartres.
61.	-	-	- Orleans.
62.	-	-	- Montargis.
63.	-	-	- Blois.
64.	-	-	- Dreux.
65.	-	-	- Nantes.
66.	-	-	- Meuleur.
67.	-	-	- Gien.
68.	-	-	- Perche.
			69. Bailliage

- |     |   |   |                              |
|-----|---|---|------------------------------|
| 69. | - | - | Bailliage of Chateauf.       |
| 70. | - | - | Amiens.                      |
| 71. | - | - | Seneschauffee of Ponthieu    |
| 72. | - | - | Boulonnois.                  |
| 73. | - | - | Peronne.                     |
| 74. | - | - | { Montdidier and<br>Roye.    |
| 75. | - | - | Bailliage of Senlis.         |
| 76. | - | - | Vallois.                     |
| 77. | - | - | { Clermon in<br>Beauvoifis.  |
| 78. | - | - | Melun.                       |
| 79. | - | - | Nemours.                     |
| 80. | - | - | { Nivernois and<br>Donziais. |
81. The country of Dauphiné and its depend-  
encies.
82. The city and government of Rochelle.
83. - - Seneschauffee of Angoumois.
84. - - Bailliage of Montfort and  
Houdan.
85. - - - - - Estampes.
86. - - - - - Dourdan.
87. The county of Provence.
88. - - - - - Graffe.
89. - - - - - Dreguinen.
90. - - - - - Marfeilles.
91. The county of Marche, High and Low.
92. The marquifate of Saluzzo.
93. Bailliage of Beauvois in Beauvoifis.

The whole number of clergy, says <sup>7</sup> Mathieu, from whom I have copied the above names of cities and districts, in the order in which he gives them as called in the assembly, was, includ-

<sup>7</sup> Hist. x. 1. liv. 4. p. 126, 127. edit. 1606.

ing

ing four archbishops, twenty-one bishops, and two abbots,	- - - 134
The whole number of nobles	180
The whole number of commons	191
	<hr/>
Total deputies	- 505

From the above state, it seems as if each jurisdiction, whether it were a city, a county, a *seigneurie*, or bailliage, sent five deputies, exclusive probably of the prelates of the church, ministers of state, and some others who were *ex officio* members or representatives. The right or rule of priority is not evident; the arrangement is neither local nor according to the extent or magnitude of the districts.

But so numerous an assembly of men ought not to have been easily either packed or overruled. Yet both sides, the king and the duke of Guise, were equally sanguine in their hopes from them. The king gave orders that every deputy, as he entered the city, should be invited by his grand master of ceremonies to wait on him, that he might converse with them and sound them; and the duke of Guise, who, it is highly probable, was as diligent, and more secret, is represented by the same historian as sitting with his back to the king, and his face to the representatives, surveying them with a piercing eye, distinguishing his friends, recognizing and encouraging them by significant looks and motions.

When we read the speech of the king, addressed to this meeting of the states, we admire

Mathieu, Hist. t. 1. liv. 4. p. 127.

the

the eloquence of Henry, his candour, his moderation, and the wonderful degree of accommodation and condescension to which, as an absolute monarch, he was brought by the disorders and adversities of his reign; but we cannot but be still more astonished at the indifference of the states and people to the high privileges which he proposed to them, and which, as well as in England in similar circumstances, ought to have laid the foundation and secured the enjoyment of civil liberty. He claimed, he demanded their attention to the importance of a civil reformation. "It is the re-establishment of my kingdom, by a universal reformation of every department, which I have desired," he said, "more than life itself. Yield to my most earnest desire; unite your endeavours to accomplish it, for it is rooted in my heart. Lay aside, tear from your breasts every sentiment and passion which may be prejudicial to it." After stating at some length, and with considerable pathos, his zeal both for the state and the church, he represented the disorders prevalent in them both, and exhorted all ranks to exert themselves to remedy them; declaring in the most solemn manner, that his royal rights and prerogative should oppose no obstacle to impede their success, nor to discourage their diligence: he trusted that they would do every thing in their power to improve the arts, to promote commerce; to secure the pure administration of justice; to alleviate the burdens and miseries of the people: he proposed to exemplify in his own person and family, as far as it might be in his power, that oeconomy, which would not only become the present adverse state of the nation, but enable every one the better both to endure

his calamities, and to contribute the more liberally and cheerfully to supply the necessities of government."

Never did a patriot more seriously invite a people to assert their rights and liberty: never did a demagogue more eloquently persuade an oppressed nation to emancipate themselves from every thing which might be accounted inconsistent with true freedom: he threw aside all authority; admitted no reserve; bound himself and the deputies by oath, to labour together for the thorough renovation of the kingdom. "If," said he, in concluding a speech, which might have done honour to the most liberal prince, to the most eloquent orator, and to the most virtuous man: "If I should appear too condescending and submissive, too free in dispensing with the laws and customs of the empire, and in limiting and diminishing the prerogative and power received from my predecessors; it is because I consider it as the peculiar generosity of a prince, to subject himself to law, to put it out of his power to do harm; to leave the power which he thus possesses more durable and secure." <sup>10</sup>

In these circumstances, why did not the States limit the monarchy; establish their own permanent legislative authority; erect a constitution like that of Britain; secure the blessings of civil liberty to twenty millions, probably then, of Frenchmen? Were they not sensible that

<sup>10</sup> Mathieu, Hist. t. 1. liv. 4. p. 129—134.  
<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 134.

their

their calamities proceeded at all from the absolute government to which they were subjected? Or had they no idea of any other model of government, better than that under which they lived? They ascribed the evils which they suffered, rather to the mal-administration of subordinate officers; or to particular customs or laws, which they thought special ordinances might redress. They saw nothing clearly, nor in an enlarged view. Their minds were prejudiced and contracted by the strong passions of jealousy and resentment against one another. The barons of England laid aside all their own jealousies, and cherished no other ambition than to secure their own rights and freedom, by reducing and limiting the power of their sovereign. But no such union prevailed among the states of France. A gleam of liberty, a bold and independent spirit for a moment broke forth in the assembly, A. D. 1576; they declared themselves by their speaker as entrusted with the royal domain, which they would preserve and maintain inviolate; and obliged the king to desist on that occasion from alienating any of the lands of the crown. They might always have been irresistible had they been united. But the partisans of the duke of Guise thought of nothing more than to render him paramount to the king; while the friends of Henry studied only to crush the duke. The zeal of the catholics flamed only against the Huguenots; nor did the Huguenots see clearly the inseparable connection betwixt civil and religious liberty. The royal speech, after all, does not appear to have been sincere; it was intended to mollify, to conciliate, to deceive: for the strictest watch was kept over those



those who attempted to use freely the licence which the king had granted with so much profusion : and as soon as he had accomplished certain ends, perceived that others could not be attained, and feared that his prerogative was in danger of being invaded, he dissolved the assembly. "

Provincial meetings of the states, as that of Burgundy, at Dijon, 1578, and the parliament of Paris, frequently remonstrated against the abuses of the royal prerogative. Sometimes the king respected them, and yielded to their persuasion ; but more generally he insisted on being obeyed, and on some occasions sent the refractory members to prison.

## SECT. II.

### *Of Laws, and Courts of Law.*

Temporary  
courts.

ONE of the most dangerous abuses of the royal prerogative, was the arbitrary institution of temporary courts for the trial of particular persons or crimes. Such was the tribunal of Henry II., for the trial of Du Bourg and his colleagues, members of the parliament of Paris : the courts under Francis II. and Charles IX., for the trial of heretics, *les chambres ardentes*, so called, because they seldom failed to consign the culprits to the flames ; and the special commission of three for trying the prince of Condé.

" Mathieu, Hist. t. 1. liv. 4. p. 171. "

Another

Another was the multiplication and sale of offices. This practice, which originated in former reigns, increased enormously under Henry III.; the exhausted state of whose finances urged him to the most iniquitous and oppressive means of recruiting them. The office of president of the parliament of Paris, in 1580, brought about 60,000 livres, 2,625*l.* sterling; that of a counsellor, in the same court, in 1584, about 20,000 livres, 875*l.* sterling; and other offices in proportion, varying, however, according to circumstances of demand, &c. The hope of reimbursement followed of course. The virtuous chancellor, L'Hopital, deplores the venality of justice, the selfishness and avarice which prevailed in every court and office; and the consequent debasement, mean solicitations, and almost irresistible importunities, and bribes by all ranks and sexes.<sup>1</sup>

When the number of officers employed in the administration of law and government, amounted to 50,000, we cannot wonder if the people were oppressed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. p. 120, 181. Trad. de L'Hopit. t. 1, 2. See particularly Henry's Speech at the opening of the states, 1588. Mathieu, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Mémoires de Tavannes, p. 287.

## SECT. III.

*Of the Public Revenue, &c.*

Ordinary  
revenue.

THE revenue in the reign of Henry II., consisted of the taille, the income, or war tax, originally the price of exemption from personal attendance in war, which amounted to 3,890,230 liv.; and the domaine, including the aides and the gabelles, that is the land and salt taxes, producing 2,258,805 liv.; both together making 6,147,577 liv. This was the ordinary revenue.

Extraordi-  
nary.

The extraordinary was an increase of the taille, of about 1,200,000 liv.; the cutting of the royal forests, 200,000 liv.; a tenth from the clergy 600,000 liv.; casualties, even when there was no new creation of offices for sale, 200,000 liv.; foreign trade, or exports, 300,000 liv.; making a sum total of extraordinary revenue of 2,400,000 liv.: these two formed the revenue for the year 1548, which was more expensive than an ordinary peace establishment, as war was threatened by the emperor, and Scotland required considerable support; yet was far inferior to a war establishment, and therefore may be held about an average, amounting to 8,547,577 liv., or 30,000,000 liv. of modern money, about 1,300,000l. sterling.

Ordinary  
expenditure.

The expenditure, which also was ordinary and extraordinary, comprehended the payment of the gend'armerie, say, 2,400 men at arms, with their archers, &c. making about 14,000 men,

men. It might be 1,000,000 liv.; garrisons, 100,000 liv.; ten galleys and one frigate, 124,455 liv.; twenty galleys and two frigates in the Mediterranean, 230,000 liv.; artillery, 38,700 liv.; saltpetre, 30,000 liv.; the king's chamber, 72,000 liv.; his stables, 131,405 liv.; plate, 24,000 liv.; the salaries and wages of the royal domestics, 300,000 liv.; music, 13,900 liv.; alms, 7,400 liv.; smaller accounts of the royal chamber, 6,000 liv.; superior officers and gentlemen about the king's person, 253,000 liv.; the house of the dauphin, 100,000 liv.; of the princess royal, 80,000 liv.; pensions of the Swiss cantons, 175,000 liv.; pensions of princes, and grand officers of the crown, governors, generals, and other officers, civil and military, 300,000 liv.; presents and amusements, 229,002 liv.; stores, &c., in places of strength in Picardy and Champagne, 35,000 liv.; salaries of the grand council, 21,400 liv.; of the parliament of Paris, 88,200 liv.; of the chamber of accounts, 29,446 liv.; of the court of aides, 10,520 liv.; of the mint, 3,000 liv.; of the parliament of Rouen, 41,000 liv.; of the court of aides of Rouen, 3,929 liv.; of the parliament and chamber of accounts of Burgundy, 30,000 liv.; of the parliament of Thoulouse, 40,000 liv.; of the parliament of Bourdeaux, 35,000 liv.; religious foundations and other divine service, 4,780 liv.: in all, 4,600,000 liv. This was the ordinary expenditure.

The expenditure extraordinary consisted in the pay of the troops, which might be called supernumerary, as the light horse, the Swiss, the lansquenets, and adventurers. The expense of

Extraordi-  
nary expen-  
diture

these was so various, that it cannot be averaged, but that of the year 1548, was 2,500,000 liv.; the artillery at the furnace cost 600,000 liv.; the interest of debt, 387,784 liv.; public buildings and gardens, &c. 35,000 liv.; plate and moveables, 250,000 liv.; entertainments or public feasts, 200,000 liv.; the collection of the public revenue, 300,000 liv.: in all 4,887,000 liv.: the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure, 9,487,000 liv.: the expenditure 1548 exceeded the revenue 1,000,000 liv. In this account there is no mention of the 50,000 war militia, established by Francis I., probably because they had been disbanded that year during the peace. But their expense is stated afterwards, at about from 1,200,000 to 1,800,000 liv.; according to the number of months in a year they were called out.

Alteration  
of coin.

To supply the deficiency of the revenue for the year 1549, the marc of gold was raised 6 liv. 12 sols 6 deniers, making it 172 liv.: the marc of silver was raised from 14 liv. 10 s. to 15 liv.; 150,000 liv. was raised by a sale or mortgage of the 12th denier, on the domains. The decimes or tenth on the clergy was doubled; a free gift was demanded from the cities; and the gabelle was extended over the provinces beyond the Loire.

In the year 1551, sixty presidial courts of justice were created in the different cities over the kingdom, producing more than 600 new offices, which were all sold; besides others in the mint, in the court of aides, in the chamber of

Garnier, Hist de France, tom. 26. p. 67—86.

accoupts,

accoupts, in the conservation of forests, rivers, in the parliament itself, which consisted of 160 magistrates. Remonstrances were made against these creations and sales, as innovations, as occasions of disorder and oppression, because the multiplication of tribunals and officers generally increase the expense and delay of law-suits; but chiefly because the danger was evident, that men who had purchased their office would endeavour to remunerate themselves, by what might be called perquisites of office, or might neglect their duty from the idea that an officer by purchase, was less responsible than others, to law and government. <sup>2</sup>

So great was the number of revenue officers, and such their speculation in the collection and management of the finances, that Villeroi, who was secretary of state under Charles IX. and Henry III., calculates, that scarcely one-tenth of the taxes reached the royal treasury. <sup>3</sup>

Forced loans became still more frequent and oppressive, in the reign of Henry III. They were exacted not only from corporate bodies, and from the clergy, but from counsellors of parliament, and merchants who were reckoned wealthy. A certain sum was named, as 500 crowns from each, and required to be paid within 24 hours on pain of imprisonment. <sup>4</sup>

Forced  
loans.

The revenue, which under Francis I. amounted

<sup>2</sup> Garnier, Hist. de France, tom. 26. p. 67—86.

<sup>3</sup> Mém. de Villeroi, t. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Mém. pour servir, &c. p. 127—154.

to near 16,000,000 livres, rose under Henry III. to more than 30,000,000 livres.<sup>5</sup>

The depreciation of the coin no doubt contributed much to this increase. Into this sum besides we cannot reckon the levies made not only by men and women of rank, but by valets and other low persons, who for personal services and favours, of no advantage probably to the state, obtained royal edicts, to raise taxes to a certain amount for their own profit.<sup>6</sup>

A tribunal was instituted in the year 1579, for correcting such abuses, subjecting all revenue officers whatsoever to examination; but in 1585, Henry defeated the end of it, by selling them generally an amnesty for all their past extortions and malversations.<sup>7</sup>

Interest.

The rate of interest paid by government for money borrowed on certain branches of the revenue, varied from ten to twenty per cent. Ten however was most common.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Discours de La Noue, p. 359.

<sup>6</sup> Villeroi, t. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Mém. de Tavannes, p. 313.

<sup>8</sup> Mém. de Nevers, t. 1. L'Art de Verif. t. 1.

## CHAP. IV.

The History of Commerce, from the Death of Francis I., A.D. 1547, to the Death of Henry III., A.D. 1589.

## SECT. I.

THE least reflection on the disorders of the kingdom, on the religious contentions and civil wars, on the administration of justice, and on the mode of levying the revenue, must have already suggested, that commerce could not flourish during this period in France. Men will not readily venture to trade, either in domestic or foreign articles, when they are exposed not only to all the hazards of war, but of capricious prohibitions and restrictions, of arbitrary impositions, of being plundered for the very appearance of wealth or enterprise, and by the very government from which they were entitled to hope for protection. Necessity, however, forced to a certain extent, both a coasting and foreign trade.

The metropolis and other towns, required a constant supply of provisions, as well as luxuries, which were conveyed to them from the different provinces.



provinces. But more corn, wine, salt, &c. were produced, and especially by the middle and western counties, than were necessary for home consumption: and on the other hand, the spice-ries, gums, &c. of the east, and the precious metals of America, were wanted from Spain, Portugal, and the Italian cities: iron and tin were imported from England. The nobles having received their rents in kind, it became their interest to encourage, and as far as possible to protect those merchants, who exchanged their produce for foreign commodities, disposed of these at home, and then repaid them with good money. Hence the Garonne, the Loire, the Seine, &c. formed the great channels of commerce; but they were not a little rivalled and harassed during the reign of Henry III. by Rochelle, and the other maritime cities occasionally occupied by the Huguenots. The salt pits of that city enabled the Rochellers to purchase from England, their various arms and stores. Sixty English vessels were found and seized by Lansac at Brouage, held by the Huguenots in 1577.<sup>1</sup>

It is easy to see, that this besides other political motives must have been a powerful reason for the protection afforded by Elizabeth to the French protestants. The best fire arms, and military armour in general, were procured from Milan.<sup>2</sup>

Marseilles was the great port for the Levant trade, whether conducted directly by French

<sup>1</sup> Thuan. Hist. ad Ann.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ad Ann. 1582.

merchants,

merchants, or by the intervention of those of Italy. It was proposed by the Sultan, Amurath III., to have carried on a trade between his dominions and Antwerp, through France. The proposal was addressed to the duke of Anjou, then governor of the Netherlands. But it was treated with neglect, and failed by his death.<sup>3</sup>

Several unsuccessful attempts were made by Francis I., Henry II., and Francis II., to settle colonies in America, which might one day rival the vast and prosperous establishments of Spain and Portugal. The expedition under Villegagnon 1556, to Brazil, failed chiefly through religious dissensions. Those of Ribaud and Lodoniere, in Florida, in 1562 and 1564, terminated in their being shockingly massacred by the Spaniards. There seems to have been no other colony attempted during this period.<sup>4</sup>

Manufactures generally languished under the last reigns of the house of Valois. That of silk, planted by Francis I., was always of sickly growth, and never flourished. The fabrication of fire arms was also attempted, in 1560, but did not succeed.<sup>5</sup>

Manufac-  
tures.

<sup>3</sup> Brantôme, t. 4. <sup>4</sup> Daubigné, Hist. Univ. t. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Brantôme, t. 1. Art. Franc.

## SECT. II.

*Of Money.*

**I**N the reign of Henry II. there were fabricated crowns, half-crowns, and quarter-crowns of gold, of the same weight and value as those issued in the preceding reign. There were also double crowns, called Henries, having on one side the king's head crowned, and on the other four letters H in the form of a cross crowned, in the intervening spaces fleurs-de-lys, and for legend, *Dum totum impleat orbem.*

Different  
species of  
coin.

In January 1548, they changed the figures on the crowns and half-crowns, making the king's head, as was thought, more a true likeness, and altering the legend to *Henricus II. D. Gr. Francorum Rex*; and on the other side the arms of France crowned, on each side of the crown a letter H crowned with the legend *X. P. S. or Christus vincit*, with the year of its fabrication, 1549, which was the first time French money bore a date.

Of a later date, 1553, there were henries and demi-henries fabricated, in imitation probably of a medal of Trajan, with the legend *Gallia Optimo Principi.*

No silver money was issued during his reign, but testons and demi-testons, like those of the preceding reign.

The

The gros and demi-gros were the same as the fol and demi-fol of Paris.

The fols Tournois were called douzains, because the fol was divided into 12 deniers; and the demi-fol, or sixains, into six deniers.

When the henries were issued from the mint in 1549, the marc of gold was augmented 6 liv. 12 fols, 6 deniers, and was worth 172 livres. The crown of gold was raised a fol, and consequently was worth 46. Alterations.

The marc of silver was raised at the same time 10 fols and was thus worth 15 livres; of course the teston, which was 11 fols, rose to 11 fols 4 deniers.

Foreign money was generally current in this reign.

In the reign of Charles IX. the crown of gold was diminished one grain; its price was raised 4 fols, or to the amount of 50 fols in 1561, and of 54 fols in 1573. The marc of gold was then 200 livres, and that of silver 17 livres. The teston rose from 11 fols 4 den. to 13 fols.

Henry III., in May 1575, issued a new species of coin in France, viz. francs, worth 20 fols; demi-francs and quarter-francs proportionally.

Quarter and half-quarter crown silver pieces, worth 15 fols, were issued October 1580.

It is remarkable, that in 1575 there was such  
a want

a want of alloy in France, that they issued doubles deniers Tournois, and deniers Tournois of pure copper, the former at 78 in the marc, the latter at 156 in the marc. They were current at the usual rate; but it was ordained not above the worth of 20 sols of them should be given in one payment.

On account of the disorders of the state in September 1754, the crown of gold rose to 58 sols; and in 1755 to 60 sols; the teston from 13 to 14 sols 6 deniers, and other money in proportion. But the pressure of want on the one hand, and avarice on the other, always demanding to the utmost from the necessitous, raised the crown even as high as 68 sols.

The memorial presented by the court of the mint to the states of Blois, ascribed this rise to the scarcity of gold and silver in France, owing to two causes; the one, the great importation of luxuries, for which money was paid and carried away; and the other, the neglect of industry, and the want of manufactures for exportation. They represented, that by raising the crown from 40 to 60 sols, the foreign merchant laid the difference on the price of his goods, at the rate of at least 20 per cent.; for they paid six crowns in France for articles which they might have purchased in Germany for five crowns. Another effect was produced, no less inconvenient and distressing; the copper money, being of due value, was all transported out of the kingdom: and the people had no small money to give for their ordinary provisions. A farther inconvenience arose from the fall of rents fixed, debts contracted,

or

or other engagements entered into : by the alteration of the money, these in a few years or months were reduced in the proportion of the difference in the rise of the nominal value of the crown. A person must lose a sixth, or 10 sols, on every crown, on the rise of it from 50 to 60 sols.

The commissioners of the royal mint therefore proposed, that the ecus d'or shall not on any account be raised higher than 60 sols, but on the contrary be reduced as soon as it can be done conveniently to 50 sols ; that foreign money shall be cried down and discouraged, as wanting precision in its value, and consequently favouring imposition, and particularly by being substituted in exchange for good copper money ; and that all reckonings and accounts shall be made, not in livres and sols, but in crowns only, equal to 4 testons and 2 sols, or 3 francs of silver, or 60 sols equal to 6 blancs, 3 blancs being equal to a Carolus.

An ordinance was accordingly published in the month of September 1577, for the purpose of authorising and facilitating this new mode of reckoning in money payments and accounts ; but the disorders of the times rendered it unsuccessful.

Le Blanc, *Traité Hist. des Monnoyes.*

TABLE of Gold Coin in the Reigns of HENRY II., CHARLES IX., and HENRY III.

Anno Domini.	Prin du Marc. Value of the Marc.	Nom. des Esp. Name.	Leur Valeur. Value.	Leur Titre. Alloy.	Leur Taille et Poids. Weight and Numb.
	<i>Liv. fol. den.</i>		<i>Sols.</i>		
1547, 31 Mar.	165 7 6	Escus au soleil			
1549, 23 Jan.	172 — —	Henris	50	23 karats	67
1560, 5 Dec.					
1561, 30 Aug.	185 — —	Escus au soleil	50	23 karats	72½
1569, 23 Nov.			53		
1570, 30 Aug.			54		
1572, 1 July.			52		
1573, 9 June	200 — —		54		
1574, 3 May					
—, 22 Sept.			58		
1575, 31 May	} 222 — —	Ecu au soleil	60	23 karats	72½
—, 17 June			60		
1577, 15 June			65		
—, 25 Nov.			60		

TABLE of Silver Coin in the same Reigns.

Anno Domini.	Price of Marc.	Name.	Value.	Alloy.	Weight and Numb.
	<i>Liv. fol. den.</i>		<i>Sol. den.</i>		to the marc
1547, 31 Mar.	14 — —	Douzains	— 12		91½
1549, 25 Oct.	14 10 —	Testons	11 —		
—, 23 Jan.	15 — —		11 4		
1550, 20 Apr.	14 5 —	Douzains	— 12	@ 3d. 12gr. f.	93½
1561, 30 Aug.	15 15 —	Testons	12 —	@ 10d. 18½gr. f.	25½
1572, 13 June		Douzains	— 12	@ 3d. 12gr. f.	102
1573, 9 June	17 — —	Testons	13 —		
1575, 17 June		Ditto	14 6		
—, 31 May	19 — —	Francs	20 —	@ 10d. 10½gr. f.	17½
	17 15 —	Douzains	12 —	@ 3d.	102
1577, 15 June		Doubles de cuivre	— 2		78
		Denier de cuivre	— 1		156
—, 15 —		Testons	16 —		
—, 20 Nov.			14 6		
1580, 17 Oct.	19 — —	Quart d'Ecu	15 —		

## CHAP. V.

The History of Military and Naval Affairs in France, from the Death of Francis I., 1547, to the Death of Henry III., 1589.

## SECT. I.

*Military Affairs.*

**TILL** the year 1542, the rank of colonel was Officers. not generally established. The next officer under the marshal or general was a captain, who had sometimes the command of a thousand men. Quarter-masters were introduced about the end of the reign of Francis I.

Coats of mail continued in use as a defensive Arms. armour, even against fire-arms; but they were made so strong, massive, and heavy, as to become oppressive, and were gradually abandoned. The pike of the infantry too gave place to the arquebuses and short halberd, and the horseman's spear to the pistol. These, at first, were coarse, clumsy, and fired with a matchlock. Muskets, however, supplanted the arquebuses before the end of the reign of Henry III.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brantome, t. 4.



Kinds of  
troops.

The army was composed chiefly of the nobility and their vassals, of some standing or permanent companies, seldom exceeding 5000 men, and the Swiss regiments. The first being a kind of volunteers, could neither be compelled to assemble, nor detained beyond a few weeks, when the provisions which they brought with them were exhausted; the latter were ill paid, and as ill disciplined. They were often necessitated to live by plunder, and were rather the robbers than defenders of their country. Hence the frequent violation of treaties and of verbal engagements, which the most honourable commanders could not prevent. Examples occur so often in the memoirs of the times, that it seems unnecessary to refer to them more particularly.

An army was considered large which amounted to twenty thousand; but it almost never exceeded forty thousand: and so great a number proved always less effective than a much smaller number. The volunteers, the French companies, and foreigners, did not readily combine and act with union and zeal.

Artillery.

The artillery of this period was both so expensive and heavy, that few pieces attended an army, and more generally encumbered and retarded its motions than aided it. They were chiefly useful in storming camps and besieging towns. Six or eight cannon were considered as a sufficient supply for either. The duke of Anjou had only four, and four light culverins, at the battle of Jarnac. The prince of Condé laid siege to Paris with only eight pieces of cannon. At Montcontour, indeed, the royalists had seventeen, but the Huguenots

Huguenots only fix. Two pieces of artillery to a thousand men, was reckoned a large supply.<sup>a</sup>

Petards began to be frequently placed at gates, for the purpose of forcing them open, in order to enter towns.

The gens d'armes were originally foldiers of the first rank, and still continued respectable. They were reduced by Charles VII. to fifteen or sixteen companies; and, in consequence of the ordinances enacted for their discipline, they were called companies of ordnance. Six of these companies were light horsemen, the rest were heavy armed. Each company was commanded by a captain, a lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant, an ensign, and standard-bearer.

Their expence amounted in the year 1547 to a million of livres only. This was the sum granted for their subsistence and maintenance by Charles VII. An age had intervened, and the necessities of life were double the price; its insufficiency was long felt and observed, but on account of the exhausted state of the finances, instead of augmenting the sum, they diminished the number of men in each company, from a hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, to eighty of the former and a hundred of the latter: this afforded them but a small relief. Their condition became often painful and wretched by the detention and irregularity of their pay. They were understood to be

Their pay.

<sup>a</sup> Le Labour. sur Castelnau. Brantome, tom. I. art. Etrange. La Noue.

wealthy themselves, and capable of obtaining an abundant supply from their own property. This was unjust, but the iniquity was aggravated by often appointing them a station, where their own property, on account of the great distance, could not avail them. In this state they were obliged, contrary to their own disposition, to pillage, to ransom their prisoners at the highest rate, and generally to exercise arts and oppressions which distressed their own feelings, or hardened them against all compunction. In 1549, a memorial was presented to the king complaining of these disorders and military extortions, and stating at the same time, that many had from time to time left the service, rather than be exposed to such temptations and dishonour; and that these companies must either obtain an adequate pay, or be dissolved, or prove the greatest enemy of the country and people, whom they were raised to defend. In consequence of these representations an edict was published for suppressing their former mode of maintenance, by provision supplied to them by those with whom they were quartered; some farther reduction was made in their retinue and equipage, and their pay was augmented. In the reign of Lewis XII., and the beginning of the reign of Francis I., the expense of these companies amounted to 39,400 livres yearly. Every hundred men at arms cost 180 livres each, and the two hundred archers attached to them cost 90 livres each; making for the whole company 36,000 livres yearly. The five officers of each company, besides the 180 livres, which they enjoyed as gens d'armes with the rest, received, the captain 1200 livres, besides 800 livres for his entertainment yearly, the

the lieutenant 500 livres, the ensign 400 livres, the guidon 300 livres, and the mareschal des logis, the quarter-master, 100 livres. These were now all raised, the man at arms to 436 livres a year, the archer to 218 livres a year, making the expense of a company 76,300 livres. The captain now received an augmentation of 3800 livres, the lieutenant 900 livres, the ensign 600 livres, the guidon 600 livres, and the quarter-master 100 livres, making 82,300 livres yearly, in all 158,600 livres for one company.

This augmentation rendered these companies more independent and comfortable. But the necessities of the state under Henry III. could not continue their maintenance at this rate, without reducing their number, from a hundred men at arms to eighty, and again to sixty; yet the officers were retained for the sake of patronage and favourites.<sup>1</sup>

## SECTION II.

### *Naval Affairs.*

THE co-operation of Francis I. in naval war with the Ottoman fleet under Barbarossa, then accounted the common enemy of Christendom, threw a discredit for some time on the French navy. This disgrace was augmented by the repulse of the combined fleet before Nice. The naval character of the French was some-

<sup>1</sup> Registres du Parlement. Recueil des Ordon. Garnier Hist.

Navy re-  
spectable.

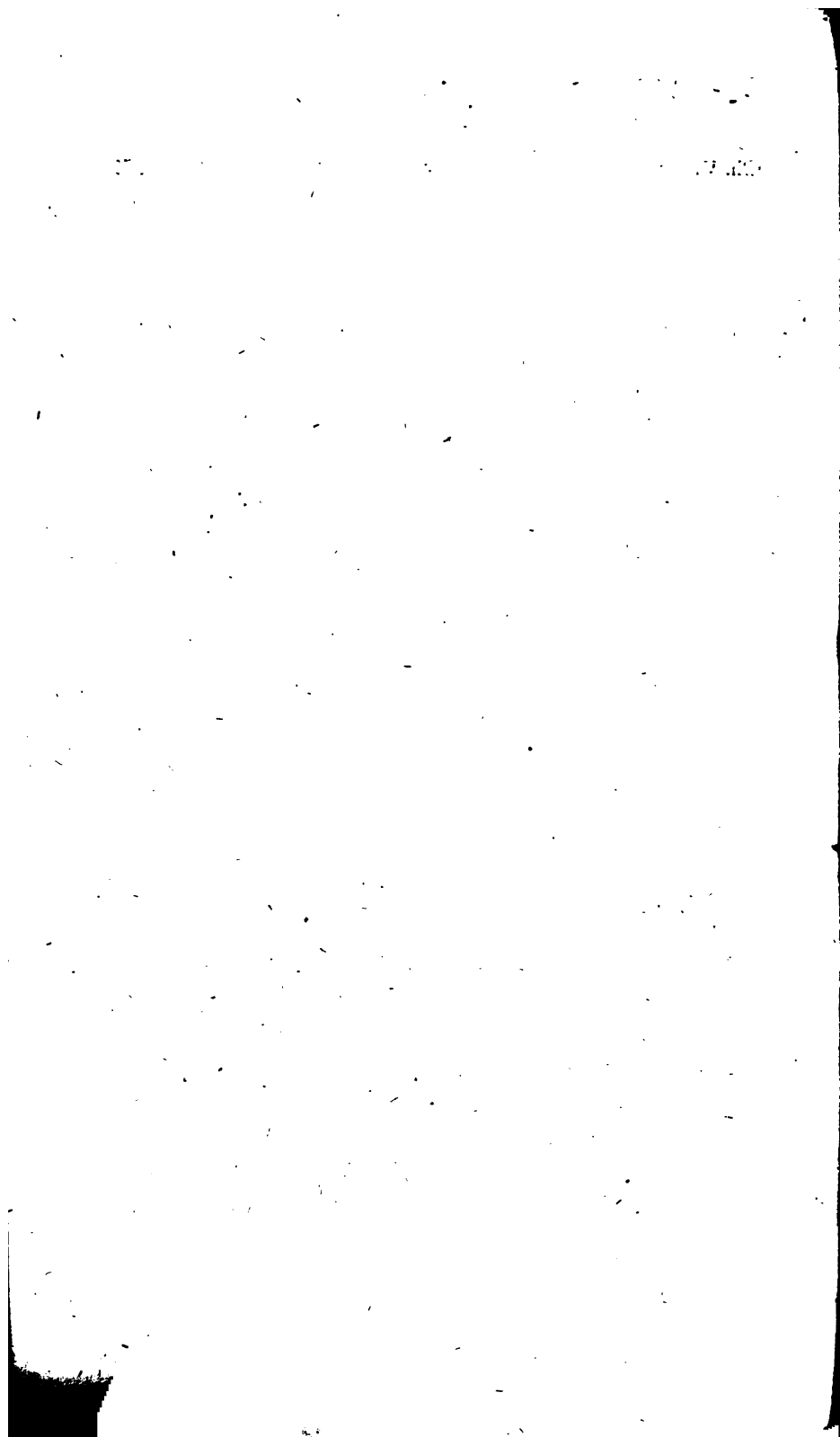
what retrieved by the success of La Garde against the English fleet, off the Isle of Wight, in 1545; they forced the latter to retire through a narrow passage behind that island. There, through the fear, not of the English, but of the rocks and sand banks, they did not venture to attack them, but they landed repeatedly, with much ostentation, in sight of the English king, who had come to be a spectator of the engagement, and probably had no doubt of the victory. We afterwards find Strozzi conducting ten galleys to the coast of Scotland at one time, and the grand prior forty at another; yet no engagement of any importance occurs during all the reigns of the last princes of Valois. In 1555, nineteen French ships on the coast of Dover attacked twenty-two Dutch merchantmen, and attempted to board them, but the former were so low under the decks of the latter, that they found it impracticable, and they were about to escape. One of the Dutchmen, however, took fire, the rest dispersed, and five of them fell into the hands of the French. The number killed, 1000 on the side of the Dutch, and 500 on the French side, shows the zeal and obstinacy with which they fought.

Expedition  
to the  
Azores

Don Antonio, the last heir of Sebastian king of Portugal, being driven from his native country, as well as deprived of all hope of the Portuguese crown, by the ambition and superior power of Philip king of Spain, took refuge in the court of France. All the Azores islands, except St. Michael, which submitted also to Philip, remaining attached to Antonio, he obtained a fleet from the queen-mother, 1582, in order

order to go and take possession of them, without probably having it very precisely determined whether in his own name, or as a dependent on France. With this fleet, commanded by Strozzi as admiral, Brissac, vice-admiral, and Saint Soulene, a commander of a Squadron, he sailed from Belleisle in the month of June. He was attended by the count Vimiofa, the only Portuguese lord who personally adhered to him. Their fleet consisted of sixty ships of war, and transports, on board of which were 5000 soldiers, and many volunteers of the French nobility, who expected amusement rather than any serious fighting. They landed in the island St. Michael, defeated near 4000 Spanish soldiers, under general Noguera, and took possession of Elgrade the capital. But as if all had been done, they indulged in pomp and entertainments, leaving the castle in the possession of the enemy, until the Spanish fleet arrived with reinforcements under the marquis de Santa Cruz.

The French were greatly superior to the Spaniards both in the number of ships and soldiers; but there was a great want of discipline and subordination. The nobles, and gentlemen volunteers, who had generally fitted out their ships at their own expence, and rather to gratify their curiosity than to signalise their courage, did not chuse to expose themselves. St. Soulene ran off with eighteen ships, for which he was afterwards degraded. Of the forty-two ships remaining, about twelve only engaged, grappled with the enemy, and fought with sufficient bravery two hours. But Strozzi was wounded, his ship sunk, and other eight of the fleet fell  
into



## CHAP. VI.

The History of the Arts in France, from the Death of Francis I., 1547, to the Death of Henry III., 1589.

*Agriculture.*

**A**GRICULTURE could not flourish amidst civil wars. Sometimes the peasants were hurried from their rural labours to battle; sometimes their verdant fields were trodden down by armies, and at other times their harvest was reaped, or their granaries plundered by the enemy, and not seldom even by the necessities of their friends.

*Architecture.*

Brantome speaks with admiration of the palaces of Fountainbleau, in the Gatinois, and of Cham-bourg on the Loire, begun by Francis I., and finished by his successors. As he gives no particular description, however, we cannot judge of either the plans or execution. He represents the former as very extensive, and capable of lodging a vast number of people, encompassed with beautiful gardens. It was much changed and still more enlarged by Henry IV. and other princes after him, so that its architecture may rather belong to a subsequent period.

Cham-



**Chambourg.** Chambourg is represented by the same author, who is prone to admiration, as one of the wonders of the world. Its square towers, battlements, turrets, which served as chimnies, and other decorations, had a grand and striking appearance at a distance. A part of the plan was to have turned, in part or wholly, the course of the Loire, close by it, and to have formed a harbour for ships under its walls, but the plan was never finished.<sup>1</sup>

**Louvre.** The Louvre, to which some writers have ascribed the remotest antiquity, appears to have been begun to be rebuilt by Francis I., and finished by Henry II., at least to such an extent as to render it habitable. The plan of it given by the abbé Clagny, a famous French architect of that period, was by far preferred to that given by Sebastian Serlio, a celebrated architect of Italy. It was strong and gloomy, consisting of two extensive sides, joined on the other sides with high walls, forming an extensive square, and surrounded by a deep and wide ditch. Its principal decorations were strong towers at each corner. The finer ornaments were added at a later period. It was more like a prison than a palace, the gates of which were guarded by archers and Swiss.<sup>2</sup>

**Thuilleries.** The Thuilleries was built by Catherine de Medicis, of Grecian architecture, designed and executed by Philbert de Lorme, and Jean Beulan.

<sup>1</sup> Brantome, t. i. art. Francis I. *Nouveau Voyage de France*, t. i. p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Germain Brice, *Descript. de Paris*, t. i. p. 37.

The former particularly had formed and improved his taste in Italy, and was the first who was successful in banishing Gothic barbarism from France. He introduced the different orders of architecture into this building, but about a hundred years after it was changed and renewed according to the designs of Le Van and D'Orbay.<sup>3</sup>

The Pont Neuf is the only other memorable public building of this period. The foundation was laid by Henry III., 30th May, 1578: it was constructed of hewn stone. The other bridges before it extended only from the isle of Notre Dame to the opposite banks; but this, consisting of twelve arches, stretches across the whole river immediately below the Palace Isle, where the two branches reunite. Its breadth is about 72 feet, 30 feet in the middle being allotted for heavy carriages. Jacques du Cerceau was the architect. The expence was defrayed by a tax which might have easily accomplished the end, but being diverted into the hands of royal favourites, the work was suspended till towards the conclusion of the reign of Henry IV.<sup>4</sup> Pont Neuf.

Paris itself was crowded, and incommodious still on the island and northern bank. The streets are represented as generally so narrow that the young people could easily leap from the top of the houses on the one side to that of those on the other. Thus they were abundantly warm, but dark, airless, and unhealthy. The city was enclosed with strong walls and gates, but large Paris.

<sup>3</sup> Germain Brice, *Descript. de Paris*, t. 1. p. 118. P. Felibien.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Thuan. *Hist. lib.* 65.

suburbs

suburbs began to extend from the gates in every direction. It was divided into sixteen wards, whence arose the council of sixteen, corresponding to them during the conspiracy of the duke of Guise and the League against Henry III. In 1562 it is said to have contained 16,000 houses, which, at five to each, would amount to only 80,000 inhabitants, exclusive of the suburbs. The streets were paved : at every corner a heavy or massive chain was fastened, capable of being stretched across, for obstructing carriages and even passengers, in case of riots and insurrections. Large barrels were filled with earth, and so placed and supported with logs of wood that neither men nor horses could pass, while they served at the same time as a defence against musquets and artillery. The citizens were enrolled and trained to arms, forming occasionally a considerable army.<sup>5</sup>

## Watches.

The mechanical arts appear to have made considerable progress during this period. The first watch seen in France was found among the spoil of the marquis del Guesle, the imperial commander, after the battle of Cerisoles, 1544. But they were pretty commonly worn before the death of Henry III. as an ornament suspended from the neck.<sup>6</sup>

## Automaton.

In 1573, when the Polish ambassadors came to invite the duke of Anjou to the throne of Poland, among other amusements they were entertained

<sup>5</sup> Garnier Hist. t. 29. p. 452. P. Felibien, Hist. de Paris. Other authors have reckoned them in all 200,000 inhabitants.

<sup>6</sup> Brantome, t. 1. L'Etoile, p. 108.

with the mechanical movement of a very large mass of rock, encrusted with silver, the machinery being concealed in the manner of an automaton; it was so large that sixteen beautiful gentlewomen, emblematical of the sixteen provinces of France, stood arranged on the top of it, singing verses, presenting gifts and homage to the duke, and concluding with a dance.<sup>7</sup>

### *Medicine.*

The art of medicine continued almost stationary. Recourse was had more frequently to magic, charms, old women's applications, and receipt books, than to men regularly educated in the profession. No cure was discovered for the venereal disease, to which Francis I., and the duke of Alençon, fell a sacrifice. The remedies employed for the whooping-cough, and the small pox, generally proved fatal. The peruvian bark was not then known in Europe, as a specific for intermitting fevers. The plague raged with violence over Europe, and though it abated, and might disappear for a few years, it usually returned, without any attempt almost to check its progress. Ambrose Paré was a celebrated practitioner of this period, in France, and his writings may be consulted with advantage by those who are curious of minute information on the state of medicine in his time. He observed the deleterious effects of boiling oil, poured on gun-shot wounds, by way of cleansing them, and

Medicines.

Paré.

<sup>7</sup> Vie de Marg. p. 123.

desisted from it, employing rather mild and cool dressings. He improved several of the instruments used in surgery, and especially in the operation of the trepan. In a word, it appears from his, as well as other writings, that few persons recovered from almost any indisposition, who committed themselves to the skill, or submitted to the medicines administered to them by the physicians of those times.

### *Literature.*

The exertions of Francis I. to promote learning, and the encouragement which he gave to literary men, produced effects which extended their influence over the succeeding ages. Even the ferocious Charles IX. held a literary society twice a week, at which the ladies as well as the learned assisted; and Henry III., devoted as he was to pleasure and superstition, and harassed as he was by factions and civil wars, was not altogether negligent of learning and learned men. Desportes the poet, and Paré the physician, though a Huguenot, were both patronised by him. From the works of the latter it appears that he changed so generally the practice of medicine in France, as to form an æra in the history of that art.<sup>8</sup> Cujas was equally celebrated, during that reign, as a civilian, though his voluminous works are now neglected. The successful cultivation of eloquence, is vouched not merely in the harangues of professional lawyers, of the chancellor, and of other statesmen,

Eloquence,

<sup>8</sup> Thuan. Hist. lib. 65. Oeuvres d'Ambr. Paré. Avis au Lecteur.

and

and members of the meetings of the states, but by the speech of Henry III. himself, in the assembly at Blois, and particularly in 1588, which might have done credit to the more illustrious ages of literature. It is long and minute, without being tedious, it is interesting and tender without affectation, it is manly and energetic, without any thing assuming or pedantic. There is no disgusting allusion, no far-fetched compliment, no meretricious ornament, no bombast description, no wearisome declamation; but from beginning to end substantial, simple, elegant, pointed, and persuasive.<sup>9</sup>

This period was not abundant in memoirs and histories. We cannot but regret the burning of the memoirs of Coligni, by order of Charles IX. This fact itself is a voucher of the enormities of his reign, which the monarch dreaded to disclose. D'Aubaigne and Popeliniere, protestants; Montluc's Military Commentaries; La Noue, a protestant; Tavannes; Castelnau; were the principal writers of memoirs. Thuanus, Davila, Mathieu, &c. belong rather to the subsequent period. Memoirs, &c.

The colleges of Navarre at Paris, and of Guienne at Bourdeaux, were the most fashionable and famous seminaries of learning of the time. The youth of rank, were generally placed under tutors. They rose at four in the morning. After prayers and breakfast, they continued from five to hear or study without intermission till ten; when they dined. They prepared their Colleges.

<sup>9</sup> It is given at full length by Mathieu, Hist. t. 1.

lessons, and snatched a little amusement till one, when they resumed their attendance and study till five; supped at six; went to vespers, prepared lessons, and enjoyed a little amusement before going to bed.<sup>10</sup>

## Poetry.

The poetry of Marot, Jodelle, &c. has been already noticed in the preceding volume. Desportes and Ronfard were the principal poets of this period. The former contributed much to purify and improve the French language. He excelled in sentimental and tender odes, rather than in the higher kinds of poetry; in imitations of Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius, than of Horace and Virgil. Few poets have been honoured with such patronage, or been distinguished by such ample rewards as he received. Charles IX. gave him 800 crowns for his *Rodomont*. Henry III. gave him 10,000 crowns to enable him to publish his works, and often consulted him on the most important affairs of state.<sup>11</sup>

## Ronfard.

Ronfard was called the prince of the poets of his time. He was caressed both by Henry II. and III., as well as by Francis II. and Charles IX. He was perhaps more learned than his predecessors; and possessed a genius more bold, brilliant, and versatile. The *Franciade*, dedicated to Charles IX., the first epic poem in the French language, is a monument, which however was never finished, of a fertile and strong imagination, and of a taste and elegance as much improved as the age would permit. His smaller pieces are

<sup>10</sup> *Laboureur sur Casseln. t. 2.*

<sup>11</sup> *Oeuvres de Des Portes. Les Siècles Liter. Art. Desp. lively,*

lively, tender, and ardent, according to their subject. He attempted comedy in translation only. Like Desportes, he was loaded with gifts and benefices, by the several princes in whose reigns he lived; and was frequently honoured by them as a companion and friend. His works were read with avidity and interest, not only by his own countrymen, but in England, by the two celebrated rival queens, and over the other kingdoms of Europe.<sup>12</sup>

Rabelais and Montaigne of that age are still distinguished names among the French essayists. The former for his comic and satirical powers: the latter for the facility, and naïveté, as well as graceful negligence with which he writes. His humour is more gay and gentle; that of Rabelais more pointed, and biting. Rabelais indulges more in low buffoonery. Montaigne was familiar with the ancient classics, from whom he enriched, perhaps loaded his writings, for he seems as if their thoughts poured irresistibly from his<sup>13</sup> pen.

His language is said to be inferior to that of the court of that time. There are some Gascon phrases, for he was a citizen of Bourdeaux, and not a few antiquated words, as *joüye*, *jouyr*, "*La Santé que je joüye :*" he frequently uses masculine too for feminine terminations. But on the other hand, his style is remarkably good for the age in which he lived: he enriched and improved the language of his country by the intro-

<sup>12</sup> *Oeuvres et Vie de Ronfard. Les Siècles Lit. Bayle, Art. R.*

<sup>13</sup> *Oeuvres et Vie des Rabelais et Montaigne. Les Siècles Liter.*



duction of many words not used before him, with great naiveté and taste. His essays abound in good subjects, and in lively and just observations on them. But he very frequently deviates totally from the path in which he set out, and will sometimes mislead a pure and virtuous mind into thoughts and views unfavourable to chaste and holy dispositions.

## CHAP. VII.

The History of Customs and Manners, from the Death of Francis I., A. D. 1547, to the Death of Henry III., 1589.

SOME general idea of the state of civilisation, and manners of men, may be conceived from their cities and dwellings. Taste and elegance were not to be looked for, among those who were crowded together in the small airless houses, and narrow dirty streets of Paris, as it is represented during the 16th century. Neither can we expect much attention to the improvement of manners, in the time of civil wars, so anxious and calamitous as those of that age.

Sumptuary laws, then so common, are themselves an evidence of considerable rudeness. Gold and silver stuffs, silk, diamonds and pearls being permitted only among the nobles, the chamberlain, or provost of the palace, on several occasions barbarously seized and dragged to prison gentlemen of rank who had dared to transgress these laws. Sumptuary laws.

L'Etoile, p. 72.

C C 4

Henry

Dress.

Henry III., in his fits of devotion, attempted to render both the society and dress of the penitents fashionable. Many of his courtiers of different ranks and professions accommodated and assumed the sack, which covered the head as well as the body, having two holes only cut for the eyes. The capital imitated the court, and the provinces the capital. The frenzy was general and disgusting.<sup>2</sup>

Brantome ascribes to Francis I. the introduction of ladies to the court and drawing room. Politeness and elegance quickly followed. But he observes, that some of his successors admitted women of loose morals, to reside near the court, and to follow it wherever it moved.

Formerly, says La Noue, in his memoirs, the same dress lasted a long time: among courtiers now, the same suit does not exceed three months; or if it be very costly, six months: so great is our degeneracy, he adds, that our very pages, and lacqueys are clothed in silver stuffs.

During the festivities which attended the marriage of the favourite Joyeuse, all the guests, men and women, were ordered by his majesty to change their dress every day.<sup>3</sup>

Henry III.'s dress is described by Sully thus: I found him, says he, in his closet, with a turban, or velvet bonnet, on his head, a short cloak on his shoulders, his sword at his side, and a basket,

<sup>2</sup> Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de Fr. Sully, t. 1.

<sup>3</sup> L'Etoile, p. 45.

suspended by a scarf from his neck, containing some little dogs about the size of one's fist.

Pierregourde, one of the Huguenot leaders, was found killed after the battle of Perigueux, in 1568, having on him, says Brantome, a clean white shirt, with a very handsome ruff, neatly plaited and crimped, as they were then worn.

Gold chains, ear-rings, and other such ornaments were so common that they formed a great part of the sum collected from the Huguenot army, and even from the pages and lacqueys attending it, to pacify and conciliate the Germans when they mutinied for want of pay, under the prince Cassimir, on the frontiers of France, A. D. 1568.

Every subordinate rank, and inferior person imitating his superiors, luxury became excessive even in the middle of the 16th century. Cloth of gold and silver, velvets, and silks, were considered as common, because they were worn by burgessees. They had thrown aside all modesty, it was said, in assuming the dress of gentry; and the gentry were no less blamed for presuming on the appearance and rank of nobility. This extravagance, as it was thought, was the more regretted, because these luxuries were imported from Italy, Spain, &c. An edict, therefore, was interposed, restricting gold and silver stuffs to the princes only; and by a second edict, they were totally prohibited: princes were directed to distinguish themselves by a complete uniform of velvet, silk, or crimson. The nobility were allowed only to adorn their dresses with pieces of these stuffs, as the

the doublet, the sleeves, &c. : or to have one piece only of their dress of them, as the breeches, or the petticoat, provided the other garments were linen, or woollen. Ecclesiastics, dignitaries excepted, magistrates, civil officers of every description, excepting the wives of magistrates, all were required to wear woollen clothes. Information having been given, that the ladies at a marriage were dressed beyond their rank, officers were dispatched to seize them; but the assembly was so numerous that the officers were beat off and put to flight. — An enquiry followed, but it was insisted that the prohibition was generally neglected; and that unless it were strictly executed, they ought not to be made singular examples. The prosecution was dropped; and the regulations fell into disuse.<sup>4</sup>

In the third memorial of the nobles, addressed to the assembly of estates at Orleans, 1561, it was proposed, that no person of recent nobility, to the fourth generation, should wear a bonnet, girdle, or scabbard of velvet, or any ornament of gold on his hat: that his wife should not be entitled lady, nor wear any ornament of velvet or gold. The memorial also of the third estate, presented at the same time, requested the king to renew the ancient ordinance, or sumptuary laws, against extravagance of entertainment at table, of dress and furniture, in order, it is added, to prevent the ruin of families. They had no conception of the propriety, in these times, of allowing these apparent evils to correct themselves,

<sup>4</sup> Garnier, Hist. t. 26. p. 65.

either

either by their immediate or ultimate operation : they did not see, that if one family shall ruin itself by dissipation and luxury, it will exemplify to many the natural consequences of excess, while its place in society can be readily supplied, not by one merely, but by many other families who have raised themselves by their industry and virtue. Such is the course of nature as well as of society. One generation of grasses, of flowers, of men fade and pass away, and another cometh.

The same memorial remonstrated against the prevalence of public places of prostitution, of cards, dice, and other games of hazard. <sup>5</sup>

Ten thousand livres, about 440*l.* sterling, of portion, besides five hundred, 20*l.* sterling, of annual rent was reckoned but a moderate portion for a young lady of rank on her marriage. <sup>6</sup>

The marriage relation was still generally venerated.

But from various causes, the civil wars, superstition, dissipation, the education of children was much neglected. From many passages of Brantome the whip appears to have been a great instrument of discipline even for young ladies : every fault in a servant was punished with the whip.

Female dress must have been very expensive. Gowns were worn of satin, velvet, and

<sup>5</sup> Garnier, *Hist.* t. 26. p. 65.      <sup>6</sup> *Satyre Menippe.* l. 3.

filk, often highly embroidered, and sometimes enriched with pearls, precious stones, &c. One of them cost from four to five hundred crowns. Shoes of velvet, black or white; sometimes embroidered filk; white filk stockings, fans, crape, false hair, hair-powder, masks, feathers, paint both white and red for the face, tooth-powder were frequent. The gown and petticoats trailed so as to conceal the feet. Cushions were employed to augment the size of the loins, &c. called *Balquines*, and *Vertugalles*, calculated, as was sometimes supposed, to conceal sexual misfortunes. But while these parts were overloaded with dress, the neck was bereaved of its due proportion of covering. In a word, the dress of Margaret, Queen of Navarre, very nearly resembled the dress of A. D. 1807. In one respect it was different. Then by means of cork heels, &c. the feet of ladies were raised fully ten inches from the ground. Now their heels and soles are not above half an inch.<sup>7</sup>

Food and  
entertain-  
ments.

Besides the most substantial dishes at the feasts of the opulent, as beef, mutton, fowls and fish, which generally abounded on the shores and rivers of France, we find them acquainted with almost all the delicacies now known. Confections were presented in many forms, surprising and elegant. Salads, artichokes, asparagus, &c. peaches, apricots, strawberries, cherries, &c. were common.<sup>8</sup> The common hour of dinner among the highest ranks was eleven.<sup>9</sup>

Furniture.

Tapestry was the chief and most expensive

<sup>7</sup> Vie de Marg. Satyre Menip. t. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Brantome t. 1. 4. Oeuvres de Ronsard, t. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Laboureur sur Cast. t. 2.

article of furniture among people of rank. The hangings of one room of this stuff would cost from ten to twenty thousand crowns.<sup>10</sup> But sometimes the walls of the room were covered with crimson velvet, and the floor with Turkey carpets; the bed of state in a nobleman's house was placed under a canopy of cloth of gold, and covered with a quilt of the same, edged with ermine; the pillows, cushions, and seats were covered with gold tissue, or brocade.<sup>11</sup> The seats were not chairs, which began to appear in the palaces of kings only, but stools, benches, or chests.

Brantôme, t. 2., describes the coach of Christina of Denmark, duchess of Lorraine, at the inauguration of Charles IX., as one of the first in France: it was covered with black velvet, as she was in mourning, drawn by four white Turkish horses abreast: she sat on one side and her daughter on the other. Carriages, however, became frequent before the death of Henry III. It is particularly remarked that on account of the barricades the queen-mother could not pass through the streets in her coach, and was obliged to wait on the duke of Guise in her sedan chair. In 1577 Margaret queen of Navarre travelled to the Netherlands in an elegant litter, which she preferred, but the rest of the family and retinue attended her in six chariots or coaches, and on horseback or on mules.<sup>12</sup>

Mules were cheaper and more common for travelling; horses were used chiefly in war. A

<sup>10</sup> Brantôme, t. 1. & 111.

<sup>11</sup> Laboureur, t. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Vie de Marg. Brantôme, t. 1. & 2.



good mule cost about 50 crowns ; a good horse from 60 to 160 crowns. <sup>13</sup>

Pages.

Pages were usually the younger sons of noblemen or gentlemen, educated in the courts of princes and great men, who attended their persons and horses, and formed a nursery for eminent warriors.

Lacqueys.

Lacqueys were servants of quite an inferior class, though they also were generally armed when attendant on their masters ; and not unfrequently acquired fame and rank as soldiers.

Gaming.

Gaming became very prevalent during this period, both of an active and sedentary kind. At tennis, the parties, says Brantome, played for two or three hundred crowns, under the reign of Henry II., but in latter times for as many thousand. Cards and dice were common, equally at court and in the camp. A pack of cards cost only a fous or a halfpenny. <sup>14</sup>

Theatre.

A company of Italian comedians established themselves in Paris, in opposition to the municipal magistrates and the parliament, under the patronage of Henry III. <sup>15</sup>

Posts.

Posts, both for epistolary intercourse and for travelling, were now generally established over the kingdom ; but great obstructions often occurred from the state of the public roads, and especially from the civil wars. Letters were in-

<sup>13</sup> Vie de Marg. Sully, t. i.

<sup>14</sup> Voyages de Montaigne, t. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Mém. pour servir à l'Hist.

tercepted, robberies were common, and great cruelties exercised; yet at some times, and in some provinces, travelling was easy, safe, and expeditious. At Chalons on the Marne, in 1580, Montaigne, the essayist, found an inn at the Crown, handsome externally, and excellent entertainment served in silver plate. The coverlids of the beds were silk.<sup>16</sup>

Some of the amusements of the court of Henry II. appear to us abundantly active and juvenile, and always animated by the company of the ladies. From the time when the king rose at seven in the morning till dinner, he was generally occupied seriously with public business. After dinner, which was early, some time was spent in the drawing room in conversation with the ladies. On leaving them, the king usually announced the amusement for the evening; if hunting, the rendezvous was mentioned, where the ladies seldom failed to attend; if tennis, fencing, running at the ring, tilting with the spear, breaking young horses, these exercises were performed under the windows of a gallery, whence the ladies could easily see and occasionally converse with them; if in winter, in like manner, they skated on the ice at Fountainbleau, when the awkwardness and falls of the learners, as well as the adroitness and elegance of those who were masters of that exercise, afforded great entertainment to their female attendants; if there was enough of snow they divided themselves into two bodies, and with great spirit and perseverance assailed one another with snow balls. These di-

Amuse-  
ments.

<sup>16</sup> Montaigne, Voyages, t. 3.

versions,

versions, in which the young monarch usually joined, sometimes kept him from attending the evening council immediately before supper : the supper was followed with dancing till a late hour. In this manner nearly every day was spent. The forenoon's occupations in business were comparatively short, scarcely a fourth of the day ; the afternoon was all devoted to pleasure, and always in the company or presence of the " ladies.

Queen-  
mother's  
letter of ad-  
vice.

The letter of the queen-mother to Charles IX. shews the manner in which she at least wanted him to occupy himself daily.

" Next to religion and justice, the pillars which support your throne, nothing in my opinion, my son, will contribute more to conciliate the esteem and affection of your subjects than to see order established and reigning in your palace. I will exemplify what I mean, by describing the practice of the court as I have seen it in the days of your father and grandfather. Imitate your father by rising in the morning at a fixed hour ; while he was dressing every one had access to him, princes, officers, &c. in the most affable and easy manner ; when they retired, and after breakfast, his ministers and secretaries of state spent usually about two hours with him on public business. About ten he went to mass, accompanied with all the nobility of the court. Dinner ought to be served precisely at eleven ; on rising from table give audience, at least twice a week, to such of your subjects as have memorials to present to you. Then join the ladies in the drawing room, which from the temper or

" Garnier, Hist. t. 26. p. 10.

habits

habits of the nation has become necessary to render you agreeable, and to keep them in good humour; remain an hour with them; thence retire into your study till three o'clock, when you take such exercise or amusement as you like best, on foot or horseback, with the young nobility. On your return you will sup with your own family and twice a week give a public assembly; for I remember the observation of your grandfather, Francis I., that the best specific secret of the French government is to keep the people always cheerful; for they are so restless and so fond of military exercises, that you must occupy them during peace either with business or amusement, or they will involve you in trouble; various military and other exercises therefore were prescribed and maintained over the kingdom. The strictest administration of police is next necessary, to prevent officious and idle discussions; that at the very first expression the culprit may be apprehended and imprisoned. The utmost vigilance should be observed, so that even profane swearing, now so prevalent, may be prevented. The royal family only, in the days of your grandfather, were allowed to enter the inner court of the palace on horseback; others, even of the highest rank, were stopped at the gate. The courts and corridors, &c. of the palace were always lighted with flambeaux and lamps at twilight, and when the king went to bed the keys of the gates were laid under his pillow. My son," added she, "if you would be not only respected but beloved by your subjects, it is necessary that you give them reason to believe that you take an interest in them, whether absent or present. Through the negligence of

those in whom you have trusted, it is reported that men from distant provinces have come to wait on you, without having access, being heard, or regarded, after six months' anxious and painful attendance, and have returned home with the most unfavourable impression of your administration. On this account I intreat you to occupy one hour every day to open and read your own letters and dispatches from the provinces, and to give audience twice a week at least to all who would see you. Such memorials as require examination you will submit to the proper officers, but if they require only your decision, give it without delay, and see next morning that the secretary to whom you entrusted it has discharged his duty, in carrying your decision or appointment into effect. When you observe at court, or at your levee, a person of distinction in his province, shew him attention, learn from him what is the state of the country; speak to him, if it were any thing however trivial, but obliging. This was the practice of your father and grandfather. Thus you shall undo the reports which have gone abroad against you, and recover the affection of your subjects.

“ I should be very glad to see you adopt the method of your great grandfather Lewis XII., in order to shew that you only are the fountain of favour. By a private channel he received information of every vacant office in the kingdom, and supplied it with the person whom he judged best qualified, without the intervention of his secretaries; and thus avoided solicitation, and proved himself supreme. In like manner, Francis I. selected a few persons in every province and city, from whom he received information

ation of every occurrence worthy of his attention, and by whose advice he disposed of every office, or interposed in due time the remedy for any disorder."<sup>18</sup>

About the commencement of the reign of Henry II. robberies and murders were very frequent in Paris, its suburbs and neighbourhood. With good reason they were ascribed to the great number of sturdy beggars which thronged the metropolis from all quarters. The prisons were crowded with prisoners, till, from want of room, they ceased to apprehend them. The chancellor Olivier suggested the opening of workhouses, with a rigid superintendence. An ordonnance was published for that purpose; the strong were compelled to work, the weak were maintained by the alms of the charitable; when these were insufficient, an assessment was levied. The streets were thus cleared, and a considerable fine was imposed on every one, who personally, or at the door of any house, gave a vagrant beggar alms. These institutions and regulations were afterwards extended, with some varieties, to every parish over the kingdom.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Mémoires de Conde. . Garnier Hist. t. 30. p. 419.

<sup>19</sup> Registres des Parlements, Garnier Hist. t. 26. p. 61. 29. 148.

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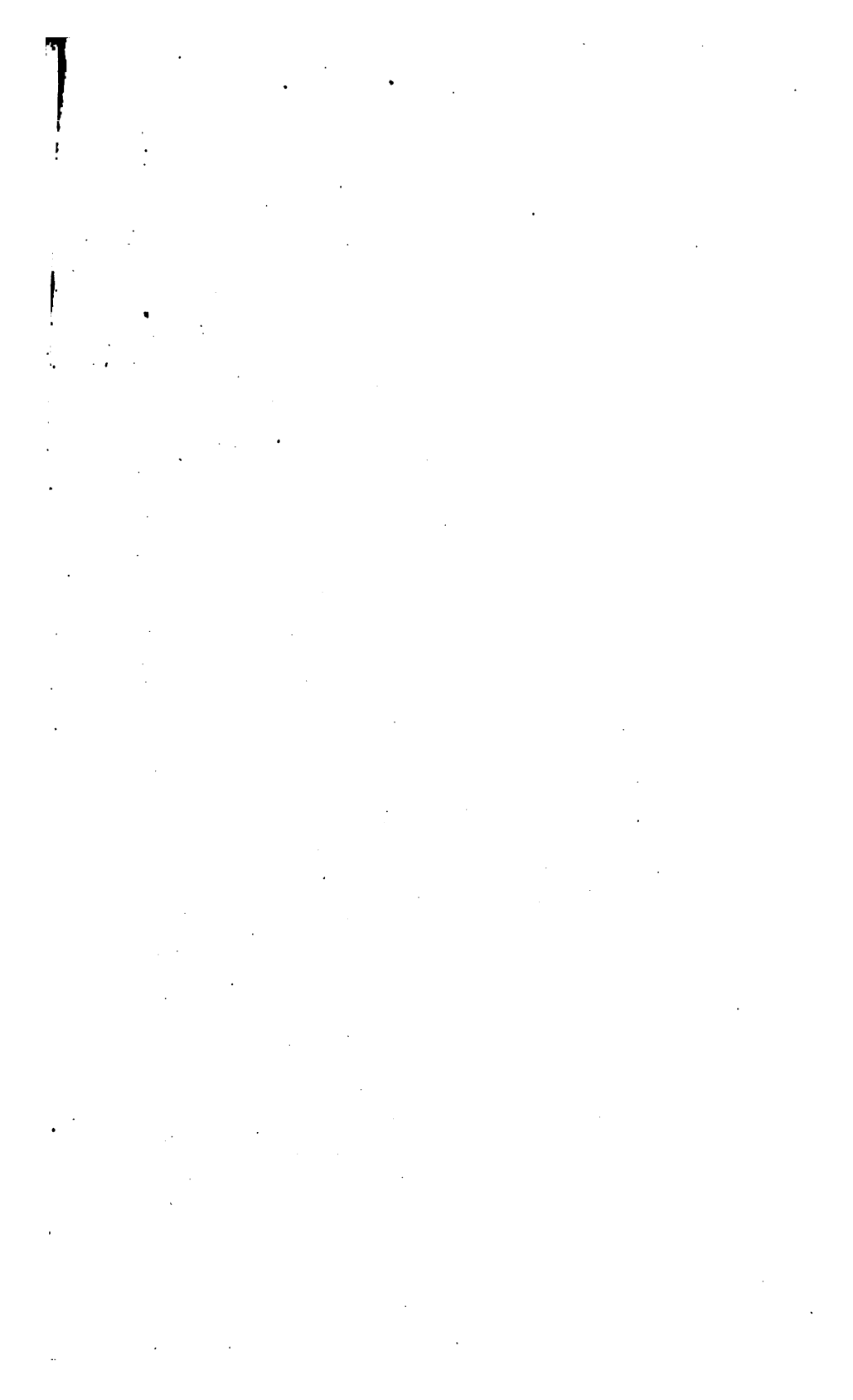
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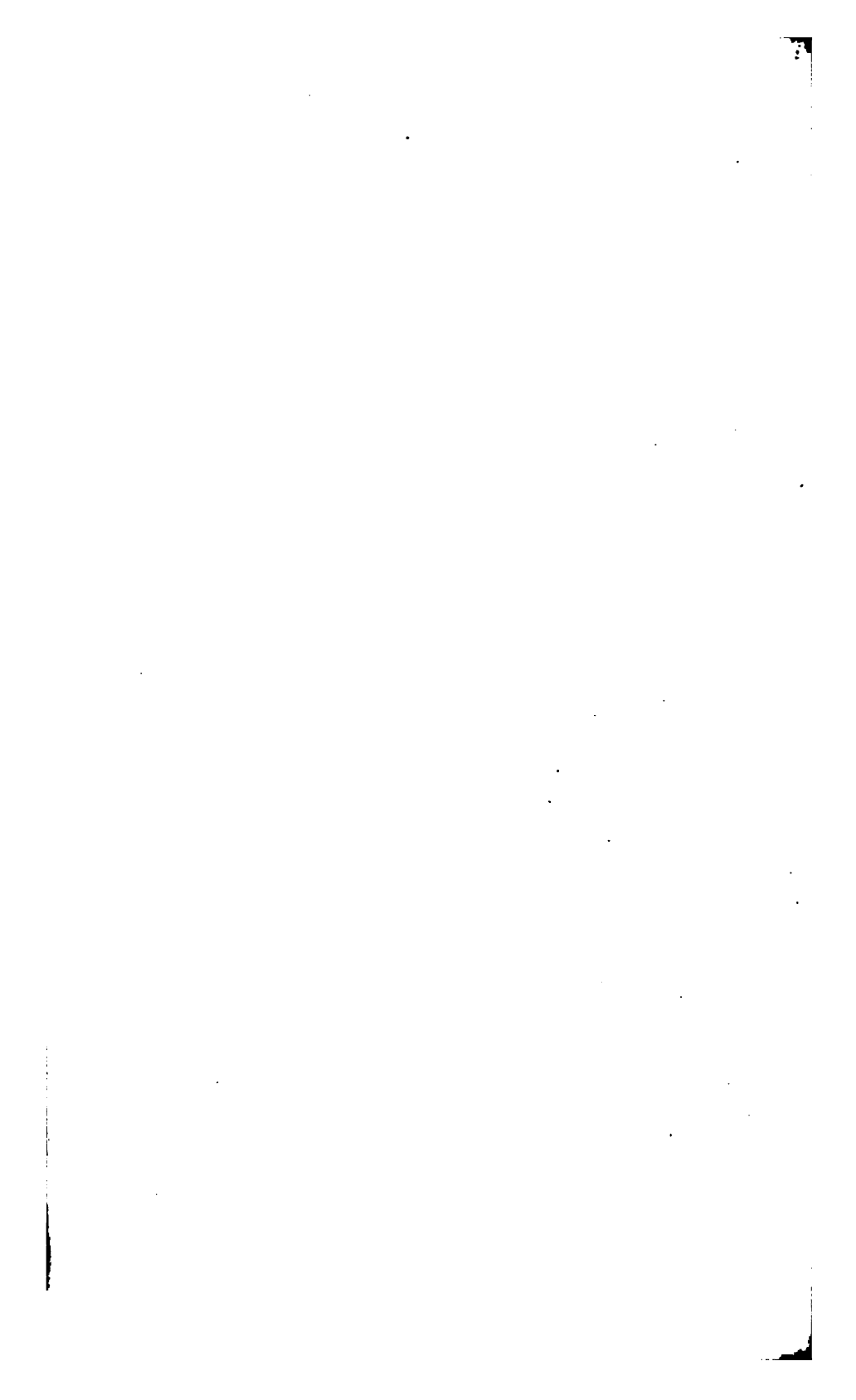
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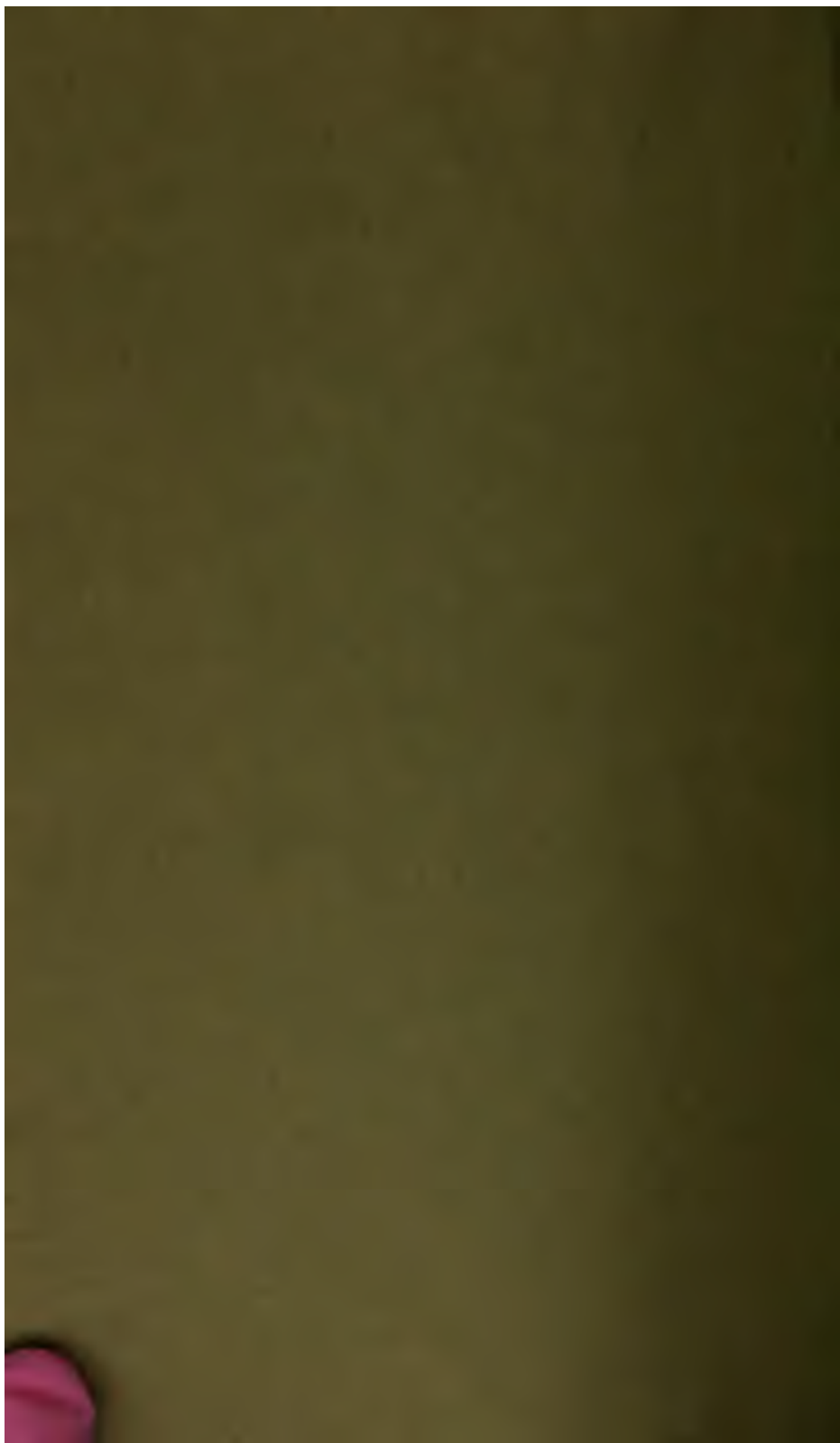
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